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USSR, U.S. Now Closer to 50% Arms Cut

LD1312184389 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—The 12th, regular round of Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms, which ended in Geneva on December 8, brought the Soviet Union and the United States closer to the conclusion of a treaty on a 50 per cent cut in the strategic offensive arms of the two countries, Ambassador at Large Yuriy Nazarkin, the leader of the Soviet delegation at the talks, told a news conference here today.

During the closing meeting, he said, the two sides exchanged the revised texts of documents being elaborated—a treaty on reducing strategic offensive arms, respective protocols, a memorandum and others—and summed up the results of this round of talks.

At the same time Nazarkin pointed out that issues concerning air and sea-launched long-range cruise missiles remain unresolved.

In this connection, he emphasised, the Soviet side expects the American side's replies to its proposals put forward during the Wyoming meeting between the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state.

The two sides' positions on space arms continue to diverge despite the new approach suggested by the Soviet side in September this year on the eve of and during the Wyoming meeting, the Soviet diplomat said.

Much attention during the recently concluded round of the talks was devoted to the coordination and elaboration of verification and stability measures, Nazarkin said.

In particular, an experts' meeting dealing with the marking of strategic offensive arms was held with the aim of helping to work out technical methods necessary to exercise effective control over compliance with a treaty on strategic offensive arms.

The two sides also reached agreement on an inspection of heavy bombers. Each side will demonstrate two such planes—one fitted out with cruise missiles and the other without them. During the trial demonstrations, it will be possible to test and refine verification procedures.

The sides evaluate prospects for the talks on nuclear and space arms primarily in the light of the landmark Malta meeting between the Soviet and American presidents, Nazarkin said.

In this connection he emphasised that the summit laid a solid basis for headway at the negotiations. He voiced hope that this would help prepare the treaty by the deadline set in Malta.

In answer to journalists' questions about the American side's new proposal on space weapon systems, Nazarkin said a draft treaty and a draft protocol to it "does not mean a change in the American approach that a space and defence treaty, as it is referred to in the United States, should take the place of the 1972 treaty on the limitation on anti-ballistic missile systems."

"The Soviet side disagrees with such approach," he emphasised. "We believe that the 1972 ABM Treaty has performed and continues to perform an exceptionally useful role and that it should be still observed in the form in which it was signed in 1972."

NATO, Warsaw Pact To Submit Arms Cut Treaties

LD1412094189 Moscow TASS in English 0844 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Vienna December 14 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Vladimir Smelov:

At today's plenary meeting in the Hofburg Palace in Vienna, the 23 nations represented at the talks on conventional arms cuts in Europe will witness an important event.

Delegations from seven socialist countries will present a draft treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe, signifying major progress at the talks.

NATO countries are also expected to present their long-overdue draft. NATO promised to table it by the end of the previous round, more than a month ago. However, because of differences between partners in the North Atlantic alliance, primarily between Greece and Turkey, the widely-advertised document has not been tabled even within the current, fourth round of talks.

The debate has been so intense that these issues will be discussed at the session of the NATO Council at the level of foreign ministers that opens in Brussels today.

NATO delegations have asked partners in the Vienna forum to "extend" today's plenary session and continue it after the break (1900 Moscow time), according to informed sources.

The decision to table the NATO draft of the treaty is expected to be taken if a compromise is reached at the session of the NATO Council in the Belgian capital by this time.

Delegations from the Warsaw Treaty Organisation countries agreed to meet the request to prolong the plenary meeting.

TASS Reports Perfilyev News Briefing 13 Dec

UN Session on Apartheid

LD1312202289 Moscow TASS in English 1606 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—The current special General Assembly session on apartheid and its destructive consequences in southern Africa offers a "unique opportunity to jointly work out a common understanding of ways to an apartheid-free South Africa," Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev said at a news briefing here today.

He said the session, which opened in New York on Tuesday, "is taking place in conditions of a broad consensus in the international community in favour of moral opposition to apartheid and the resolute condemnation of Pretoria's racist policy.

"The Soviet Union considers the projection of the consensus in the moral sphere into the political one as one of the main tasks of the forum."

Perfilyev expressed hope that the General Assembly will approach a generally acceptable solution that would promote the political settlement of the conflict in southern Africa.

Lebanese Peace Process

LD1312202689 Moscow TASS in English 1807 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—The Soviet Union is confident that all those who cherish Lebanon's peace and welfare must effectively support its legitimate institutions of power and facilitate the fulfilment by them of the Al-Ta'if agreements. This was stated by Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev at a briefing here today.

Only in this case, he noted, will the peace process in Lebanon become steady and dynamic and result in national rebirth.

Perfilyev said the Soviet Union shared the concern of the Arab League Comittee of Three over the reluctance of the military-political circles in Lebanon to heed the call of the majority, their desire to dispute the legality of the new Lebanese authorities, and attempts to prevent them from introducing changes envisaged by the national accord charter.

"It must be made perfectly clear that they are playing with fire and are guilty of attempts to push Lebanon into the quagmire of civil war," Perfilyev said.

Central American Summit

LD1312203489 Moscow TASS in English 1825 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—At their recent meeting in San Jose, the Central American presidents agreed on important measures to overcome tension and lend fresh impetus to the political settlement in the region, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told journalists here today.

Accords on the early implementation of the Nicaraguan Contras disbandment decision, taken by the previous summit meeting, have special significance, he said.

The Soviet spokesman listed the proposals, made by the participants in the meeting: The U.S. Administration's aid to the Contras should be put at the disposal of the international U.N. Commission, the Contras should be repatriated or moved to third countries, and the Contras should stop interfering with the election process in Nicaragua.

The USSR is satisfied with the Central American countries' stance in favour of the early normalisation of the situation in El Salvador, Perfilyev said. Support should be given to the Guatemalan, Honduran and Costa Rican presidents' call for the governments of El Salvador and Nicaragua to restore diplomatic and other bilateral relations, he said.

The U.N. Security Council president's recent statement on Central America is also an illustration of the world community's support for efforts to overcome tension in the region.

"Being firmly convinced that the problems of the region can be solved through peaceful means alone, the Soviet Union favours more active contribution by international organisations, primarily the United Nations, to the implementation of measures to normalise the situation in Central America," the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Afghan Leadership Situation

LD1312204989 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Attempts to exclude the Afghan leadership from the future state power structures conflict with a resolution of the 44th U.N. General Assembly session that was approved by the international community, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev said at a news briefing here today.

He said these attempts "are aggravating inter-Afghan conflicts and hampering the search for peaceful solutions within the framework of a comprehensive political settlement."

Perfilyev then commented on a meeting of the U.S. President's special representative, Peter Tomsen, with Burhanuddin Rabbani, one of the leaders of the Peshawar-based "Alliance of Seven."

The spokesman said the U.S. representative himself admitted that the current rebel "government" has no international recognition as it does not represent all Afghans.

"The U.S. emissary actually disavowed the puppet 'government' in Peshawar, which was formed not by Afghans but by Pakistanis," Perfilyev said.

He noted that the Soviet position on this issue remained firm: "Only a genuinely broadly-based government will be able to undo the tight knot of the protracted conflict."

Berlin Four-Power Meeting

LD1312210389 Moscow TASS in English 2015 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Moscow December 13 TASS—[Passage omitted] Perfilyev spoke about recent consultations between ambassadors of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France in West Berlin. The former allies in the anti-Hitlerite coalition discussed issues of stability in the region.

The spokesman said the Soviet Union "would like such consultations to be held on regular basis."

Perfilyev said Soviet, American and British officials had a meeting with a South African delegation, led by Foreign Minister Roelof Botha, on December 11 and 12 in Vienna.

They discussed South Africa's accession to the nuclear non- proliferation treaty. The Soviet Union, the U.S. and Britain are depositories of the treaty.

The spokesman said the sides agreed to resume contacts early next year.

Reporters were addressed by Yuriy Nazarkin, Soviet chief negotiator at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms, and Sergey Lavrov, deputy head of the Foreign Ministry's Department for International Economic Relations.

Perfilyev also announced that the head of the International Economic Relations Department, Ernest Obminskiy, has been appointed deputy minister of foreign affairs.

The spokesman noted that Obminskiy will combine the two posts.

Disinformation Meeting Called Vestige of Cold War

90UI0155A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Nov 89 First Edition p 5

[Article by V. Bolshakov, PRAVDA staff correspondent (Nice-Paris): "An Assault From the Past: Assemblage of Disinformation 'Specialists' in Nice"]

[Text] The letter was addressed to me although I had never before heard anything about its author. On "Institute for the Study of Disinformation" stationery, the president of the Paris-based organization, Daniel Tranke, invited me in an exceptionally courteous manner to attend the "international conference on disinformation," which he stated was to take place in Nice.

Using his words sparingly, Tranke informed me in his letter that the institute was established at the beginning of 1987 "under the aegis of the 'Freedom of the Press' Association, in which 150 journalists are members." Since none of my colleagues knew anything about this institute either, I decided to call them and politely decline the invitation, especially since the agenda for the first day of the conference strongly reminded me of the rather commonplace anti-Soviet "forums" of the "cold war" days. I probably would have done so had I not taken a closer look at the list of speakers. From all appearances, a serious "assault" was being prepared on Nice....

From the United States they were expecting G. Romerstein, former chief of the "Department for Counteracting Active Soviet Disinformation Measures" and currently a special advisor at the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), Pentagon experts advocating "Star Wars," and recent U.S. Congress "advisers" on the "Soviet threat."

Scheduled to speak from France were J. Rochet, former DST [Counterintelligence Service] director, Pierre de Vilmare, director of the anticommunist Center for International Research, prominent police officials and generals, and rather well-known journalists and writers. "Disinformation specialists," as Monsieur Tranke called them in his letter, were also hastening to Nice from the FRG, England, Switzerland, Portugal, and other countries.

It would be simplest of all to brush these people off and speak with irony as before, on the occasion of these dinosaurs of anticommunism, with whom it is useless to argue, coming to stroll along France's Cote d'Azur. But these specialists are operating—alas—not in a vacuum; they are not operating in the Mesozoic Era, but in our time. It is they—whether we like it or not—who form the world view of millions of people in the West, and in a number of instances the policies of the leaders of the largest political parties in the capitalist countries. So I decided to go.

It was a beautiful "St. Martin's summer," or Indian summer as we would call it. The sun was shining and the fountains of the Acropolis, the most luxurious conference hall in Nice, were gushing forth. Meanwhile, in the Acropolis itself, former DST director Rochet was stating it was no use for Frenchmen—or anyone in the Western community—to amuse themselves with illusions of peace, since the perestroyka being accomplished in the Soviet Union, although bringing about a certain democratization of communist society, was in the final analysis just a screen, a curtain behind which a ruthless war between Soviet secret services and the NATO countries was running strong.

Just what is glasnost? As reported in the next day's issue of Nice's newspaper NICE-MATIN, glasnost is nothing more than "a lie which is closer to the truth than the truth itself."

Of course this correspondent, honestly attentive at all the speakers' presentations the first day of the conference in the Acropolis, did not dream all of this up himself, but rather borrowed his "argument" from the distinguished "Sovietologists" and "disinformation specialists." Indeed, they turned out to be experts in precisely this sphere. They tried to prove that perestroyka was "a giant operation organized together with all the Soviet intelligence services with the aim of disinforming the leadership and public opinion of the West, of consolidating the position of communism and its defensive resources for the subsequent transition to a global counterattack against the free world."

"We don't have to fall into this trap," warned ex-Pentagon expert Thomas Moore. "I am not against providing assistance to Eastern Europe, but I am against assisting Gorbachev to consolidate communism."

Or take, for example, the speech of P. Vilmare at the conference. How can a scholar seriously talk about his love for the truth and at the same time plant the seeds of mistrust of perestroyka merely on the basis that, for example, a Central Committee CPSU Politburo member who was the KGB chairman delivered a speech at a session convened on the occasion of the 72nd anniversary of Great October? Or that, at the outset of perestroyka, E.A. Shevardnadze was appointed USSR minister of foreign affairs, formerly holding the post of minister of internal affairs of the Georgian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]? After all, if we are going to follow this kind of system of proof, the Soviet leadership should never have met with Ronald Reagan, known to be "anti-communist No 1" in his time; all the more so, M.S. Gorbachev never should have accepted the offer to meet in Malta with U.S. President G. Bush, one-time director of the Central Intelligence Agency as we know....

In his introductory remarks to the conference, Monsieur Tranke cited the words of Mirabeau to the effect that man is like a rabbit and falls into a trap, his ears getting caught in it. This is 100 percent applicable to those who prefer disinformation over the truth. How much more dangerous are those "ear traps" set in the Acropolis by that indefatigable anti-communist Monsieur V. Volkoff, who called for the use of glasnost and the processes of democratization in the USSR for the restoration of capitalism in our country. Such provocative urging can be explained in Mr. Volkoff's case by virtue of his heredity. But for those making responsible decisions in the Western capitals, of course, such recommendations cannot be the guiding principle for action. This is understood by the leaders of the NATO countries and primarily by those of the United States where, in my view, they are approaching the changes taking place in the socialist countries with appropriate realism.

The orators in the Acropolis were tireless. Movie and television cameras impassively recorded their "warnings:" on the first day of the conference, against "enthusiasm for Gorbachev and perestroyka," on subsequent days, against sympathy for movements of national liberation and against censuring apartheid in the Republic of South Africa. They also accused the "hidden fellow travelers of communism," seemingly entrenched everywhere—in the press, on stage, in the theater, in the art studio.... These people, like that sadly famous American senator Joseph McCarthy, see "communists hiding under every bed."

The time for "witch hunting," however, is long gone. Even the Paris publication FIGARO advised that in Nice they were declaring perestroyka anathema clearly at the wrong time—"at precisely the moment when, in Western opinion, it is time for everyone to join in the chorus with Berlin singer Nina Hagen, composer of the 'Ode to Gorbachev'."

Importance of Human Rights Declaration Viewed

PM1212111989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 1

[M. Kozhukhov commentary under the "Topical Subjects" rubric: "'Every Person Has the Right'"]

[Text] That is how articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which we are publishing on page 5 of today's edition of IZVESTIYA, begin.

It was adopted by the international community in 1948 with the active participation of the Soviet Union. In addition it was our country, which made the following proposal at that time: The document must be mandatory rather than rhetorical. We will not attempt to guess today which was the greater element in this calculation—propagandist cunning or the naive but sincere hope that an international law would help a better future replace the era of inhuman war. It is not that important now, by and large. At any rate, the Declaration was only proclaimed as a task which all peoples and states must strive to fulfill. It was not a rigid law but—at best—a new international bible for the 20th Century.

In our country, however, neither the text of the Declaration itself nor the texts of subsequent pacts which amplified and interpreted its basic provisions were made public widely. Nor, admittedly, were they put in special stores. Published in generally unobtainable publications with small circulations, the texts were kept hidden away, as it were. The reason is understandable. The realities of Stalin's socialism were too far from the lofty principles on which these documents rest.

Even 1 year ago, when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights celebrated its 40th anniversary and the jubilee provided an appropriate excuse to mention it, newspapers—ours too—refrained from publishing the full text of this document. Even 1 year ago its ideas spoken aloud might have been reminiscent of the child's well-known rejoinder in the Hans Christian Andersen fairy tale about the emperor's new clothes, only the fairy tale would have been about us. A whole year has elapsed and the time for these ideas has arrived. How time has been telescoped and how rapidly we are changing!

Certainly, our social system is far from perfect now. That is an important conclusion stemming from an honest look at ourselves. Another thing: All of us together, all society—we want to, we can, and we have the right to be better. How can we achieve this more rapidly; what is the shortest way? There are no ready-made answers.

There is the hard-won conscious desire to create a free state based on the primacy of a law which places the rights and dignity of the individual above all else. That is the purpose of the lawmaking process under way in the Kremlin, which is compelling the population of one-sixth of the world to sit up half the night in front of the television. The parliamentarians have a stern mission: to achieve in a short time what has taken others decades. An avalanche of draft laws, corrections, and amendments. The Laws on Land, on Ownership, on Freedom of the Press, on the Right to Leave the Country—those are the bare bones on which we all have to found a new socialism beamed toward people. "Skilled" work that leaves no room for error. If this is impeded by any of the usual plans and cliches, they must resolutely be cast aside, however inviolable they seem, leaving concern for the genuine good of each and every one, common sense, and the experience acquired by mankind. And—also important now—the international commitments of a country which is calling the world to the new political thinking. These commitments are linked to the whole world community's trust in us and have become a matter of our sovereign state honor.

From this viewpoint, the text of the Universal Declaration published today constitutes a reliable set of coordinates whereby we can gauge our course when launching our changes.

Petrovskiy Briefs Perez de Cuellar on Malta Meeting

PM1312144289 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report under general heading "Official Announcements"]

[Text] On 11 December USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy met with UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar and, on the instructions of the Soviet leadership, briefed him on the main results of M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with G. Bush in Malta.

There was a thorough exchange of opinions on questions of unblocking a number of regional situations. The Soviet side expressed support for the peacemaking efforts of the United Nations and its secretary general in the attempt to find mutually acceptable solutions based on the balance of interests.

Foreign Ministry's Economic Role Examined

LD1412094789 Moscow TASS in English 1743 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—The Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs is now playing a more active role in the solution of international economic problems than ever before, Sergey Lavrov, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Economic Directorate told a briefing here today.

One of the tasks of the present economic reform, he said, is to expand the Soviet Union's involvement in the international division of labour.

A special role in this is to be played by new laws, some of which have already been adopted and some others are being debated in the USSR Supreme Soviet, Lavrov stressed.

The Soviet Union proceeds from the assumption that the period of peaceful development mankind is now entering will be a long one, he pointed out. This calls for a new level of economic partnership on which to base a stable, deideologized, mutally beneficial economic order, Lavrov said.

"We have worked out a policy to encourage broad multilateral economic cooperation in the interests of all states. The aim of this policy is to ensure international economic security. [no closing quote as received]

The Soviet Union is prepared not only to constructively contribute to the work of international economic organisations, of which it is a member, but at the same time to develop contacts with other organisations, including the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). This activity is aimed at achieving a true balance in the world economy, Lavrov said.

Speaking about economic aspects of the activity of the United Nations, Lavrov pointed out that there were reasons to hope that the special U.N. General Assembly session on international economic cooperation would help overcome stagnation that has for many years characterized U.N. economic activity.

Responding to questions from journalists, Lavrov pointed out that the Soviet Union was not the only side that stands to gain from the forthcoming signing in Brussels of an agreement on trade, commercial and economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the European Communities.

EC member-countries will be given an opportunity to expand their exports to the Soviet Union. Customs formalities will be simplified and more favorable conditions will be created for the activity of business community representatives.

He also noted that respective Soviet organisations were maintaining continuous technical contacts with GATT, the International Monetary Fund and the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Their rapprochement, he believes. Must eventually lead to the entry of the Soviet Union into these organisations.

Future UK Monitoring Base in Australia Viewed

OW1412014789 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 4 Dec 89

[(Knyazhurov) commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners: Britain has started building an electronics monitoring base at (Jienaerde), a small location in Western Australia, to replace a military satellite base in Hong Kong for monitoring radio signals from China. This is because the sovereignty of Hong Kong will be returned to China in 1997. In this connection, station commentator (Knyazhurov) writes:

London is, of course, forced to relocate that electronics monitoring and radar base. Britain will have to withdraw all its military facilities from Hong Kong before 30 June 1997. In accordance with its agreement with Britain, China will station troops there. The British troops stationed in Hong Kong currently number about 12,000. Its navy has five patrol vessels and patrol teams stationed there. Britain decided last year to reduce the patrol vessels from five to three. Not long ago, a battalion of Gurkha troops, who had been recruited from Nepal, was disbanded.

Because of its advantageous geographical position, Hong Kong has been a very convenient base for British Armed Forces for a long time. Regardless of where British warships sail in Asia and the Pacific, they always sail to Hong Kong and sometimes anchor there for a fairly long time. In accordance with a 5-party joint defense agreement, Britain conducts naval exercises in the South China Sea along with Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia, and Singapore every year. It is reported that plans are being made to strengthen such exercises.

According to foreign press reports, Britain is planning to have its warships use harbors of the Sultanate of Brunei after losing Hong Kong. Britain currently is strengthening its military cooperation with the sultanate. In October of this year, it signed an agreement with Brunei under which interceptor aircraft and warships will be sold to the latter.

We can see from this that Britain is preparing to withdraw from Hong Kong. However, it has no intention whatsoever of pulling out its military presence from Southeast Asia. On the contrary, it wants to further consolidate its position there.

United States & Canada

Analyst Sees USSR-U.S. No Closer on Space Arms

LD1312195889 Moscow TASS in English 1934 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev:

The recently concluded 12th round of Soviet-American talks in Geneva on nuclear and space arms did not draw the positions of the sides closer together despite new proposals advanced by the Soviet Union during the Wyoming meeting between the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state in September.

Taking into account differences between the Soviet Union and the United States over anti-missile defence and space problems and seeking to take the issues out of deadlock, the Soviet side stated in Wyoming its readiness to sign and ratify a treaty on strategic offensive arms even if an accord on ABM problems is not reached by the time the treaty is elaborated.

The Soviet side will only do so, however, provided the two sides continue to comply with the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972.

The stipulation of the right of one side to withdraw from a treaty on strategic offensive arms if the other side fails to comply with the ABM Treaty should be preserved.

At first, the American side referred to the new Soviet initiative as "a positive development." However, according to American press reports, shortly after the meeting in Wyoming U.S. President George Bush conferred with representatives of various American agencies and decided to go ahead with the Reagan course towards the militarisation of outer space.

Accordingly, the draft treaty on space problems, submitted by the U.S. delegation at the talks in Geneva, still allows the large-scale deployment of anti-missile defence systems, including those in outer space.

The draft treaty is based on the ABM Treaty's "broad" interpretation that reduces to naught the basic provisions of this important accord.

A complex situation concerning the talks in Geneva on nuclear and space arms has now developed. The advocates of a tough American course in international relations believe that the setting of a deadline by Bush for the signing of a treaty with the Soviet Union on strategic offensive arms after the Soviet initiatives were put forward in Wyoming would "negatively affect" U.S. Congressional support for the Star Wars programme.

On the other hand, people fear that opportunities for reaching agreement on strategic offensive arms may be lost due to the American side's inflexible position on space problems.

The new Soviet approach set out in Wyoming opened the way for the conclusion of an agreement on strategic offensive arms.

However, in order to successfully utilize fresh prospects for the entire spectrum of problems that are under discussion in Geneva, the American side's reciprocal moves to bring the positions of the sides closer together are also necessary. Washington has not made such moves so far.

Experts To Visit U.S. SDI Research Centers

PM1412112189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Dec 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS dispatch: "Soviet Experts' Visit"]

[Text] Washington, 13 Dec—In accordance with a Soviet-U.S. accord, a group of Soviet experts will arrive in the United States 14 December and visit research centers where work under the SDI Program is under way. This was announced by U.S. Defense Department spokesman P. Williams at his latest meeting with journalists. The Soviet experts, he noted, will visit a TRW corporation installation at San Juan Capistrano (California), and the nuclear laboratory at Los Alamos, New Mexico.

U.S. USSR Communication Channels Proved

PM1312142789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] Communication channel tests for which provision is made in the agreement between the governments of the USSR and the United States on forestalling dangerous military activities were carried out 6 through 8 December this year in the Bering Sea and the Mediterranean by ships and aircraft and also shore stations of the Soviet and U.S. Armed Forces. Despite complex weather conditions in the test areas, especially the Bering Sea, the tests were carried out successfully. They demonstrated the effectiveness of the procedure for radio exchanges elaborated by the sides with a view to forestalling or swiftly settling dangerous military incidents.

Scowcroft China Visit Revives U.S.-PRC Ties

PM1212163589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch: "United States-PRC: Breaking the Ice?"]

[Text] Washington—Washington issued an official announcement of National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft's visit to the PRC at 0200 hours on Saturday, when the aircraft carrying the U.S. representatives (including Laurence Eagleburger, deputy secretary of state) had already landed at Beijing Airport. Prior to this even many senior State Department people and U.S. diplomats in the PRC did not know of the visit.

What was the reason for the secret preparations for the trip? U.S. newspapers claim that the surprise visit is evidence of a turnaround in the incumbent administration's policy toward the PRC.

Some 6 months ago, during the events on Tiananmen Square, the U.S. Administration described the actions taken by the Chinese authorities as repressive. A series of sanctions were announced against the PRC: Contacts were severed between senior officials in the two countries, shipments of military equipment were stopped, and a number of trade and economic programs were suspended. The Chinese authorities retaliated by accusing Washington of trying to undermine the socialist system in China.

As time passed, the diplomatic deadlock deepened. Each side told the other to try to find a way out. When former U.S. president R. Nixon—he initiated the establishment of U.S.-PRC diplomatic relations—arrived in Beijing on an unofficial mission, he was told the following: This time Washington must make the first move toward normal relations.

THE NEW YORK TIMES claims that Beijing also insisted on secret preparations: "The Chinese wanted to stress that the Americans should come on Chinese terms rather than the other way around." Obviously, the White House also needed the veil of secrecy. This helped avoid interference from the Congress, where there are still strong sentiments in favor of retaining and even stepping up the sanctions. Moreover, the effect of a sensation was also necessary. "By going to Beijing, we broke the ice," a WASHINGTON POST correspondent was told by a well-informed administration spokesman. "The first move has been made, and the shock it produced should guarantee a positive public response."

In Beijing B. Scowcroft met with Chinese leaders—Jiang Zemin, Li Peng, and Deng Xiaoping, who retains influence in China despite his official retirement, and also Foreign Minister Qian Qichen. The line given to the press was that he briefed the Chinese leadership on the results of the meeting on Malta between Gorbachev and Bush. However, the conversations were mainly taken up with discussing ways to normalize bilateral relations. The newspapers cited B. Scowcroft's statement at an official reception in Beijing: "We came here to give bilateral ties fresh impetus and new vigor and find areas of consensus—economic, political, and strategic." The United States is prepared to "resume important dialogue on international questions of vital interest to both countries."

"There are forces in our two societies which are endeavoring to impede our cooperation," Scowcroft said. "We must take bold steps to overcome the actions of these negative forces." The press has not cited any concrete measures to improve bilateral ties that were proposed by Scowcroft. In the opinion of leading U.S. newspapers, Beijing must make the next move. People here are waiting for the question of the fate of two Chinese dissidents—astrophysicist Fang Lizhi and his wife Li Shuxian—to be resolved. They sought refuge during the events on Tiananmen Square in the U.S. Embassy in Beijing. A humane gesture—if the Chinese authorities were to rescind the order for their arrest—could help the authors "save face," in short.

A number of Democratic congressmen in Washington have criticized Scowcroft's trip to the PRC. Thus Steven Solarz, chairman of the House of Representatives Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, described the trip as a mistake, a step taken at an "inappropriate time" under conditions when the Chinese authorities have done nothing to improve the "human rights situation in China." According to him, the incumbent administration "has gone cap in hand" to Beijing. In response to the criticism, U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker said in an interview on an ABC TV program that the U.S. Administration has not changed its negative view of the actions taken by the PRC authorities during events on Tiananmen Square. However, one must not now "aggravate the tragedy in an attempt to isolate China from the international community."

Visit Positively Evaluated

OW1212213289 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1100 GMT 12 Dec 89

[(Shedlov) commentary from the "World Today" program]

[Text] Scowcroft, the U.S. President's national security adviser, and Eagleburger, U.S. deputy secretary of state, visited Beijing unexpectedly last weekend. The purpose of their visit was to brief Chinese leaders on the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit off the Maltese coast. This is viewed as an indication of the rescission of the decision to suspend contacts with the Chinese side that the United States adopted in the wake of the Tiananmen incident. In Beijing, Scowcroft said: We have come here today as friends to resume important dialogues on issues of vital significance to the people of our two countries. In this regard, our commentator (Shedlov) has the following comments:

The world is changing as can be seen not only from world affairs but also from our reactions to them. Only several years ago, there would have been no better news to Moscow observers than frictions between China and the United States. At that time they expressed anxiety about the improvement of Sino-U.S. relations. Today this state of affairs seems to be a matter of the past.

Over the past 6 months, the United States and China have carried out propaganda to attack each other. I have discussed this issue on several occasions with responsible personnel of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the CPSU Central Committee. All of those with whom I have talked have expressed regret over the difficulties appearing in Sino-U.S. relations. As to whether the

Soviet Union should take some opportunities to improve its relations with Beijing and to fill the gap, all expressed [words indistinct].

I think there is no mistake in saying that the resumption of normal Sino-U.S. dialogue will be positively evaluated by Moscow. I also think that such a change in attitude is completely reasonable. It may be said that the change from confrontation to cooperation between Moscow and Washington and the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations have eliminated the triangular tense relations in the Far East. The Soviet Union, the United States, and China still determine to a great extent the political situation in this area and in the Asian-Pacific region. I feel that Moscow, Washington, and Beijing all have the sense of responsibility for taking action in this regard. This is why Washington commented positively on Gorbachev's visit to China last May. The visit is generally believed to have strenghtened international and regional security.

U.S. Congress Plan to Debate E. Europe Changes

PM1312144589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "A Most Important Year"]

[Text] Washington, 12 Dec—The revolutionary democratic transformations in the Soviet Union and East Europe in which this fall and winter have abounded have forced the leadership of the U.S. Congress to reexamine its priorities regarding the agenda for sittings which are due to resume toward the end of January.

A joint press conference was given on Capitol Hill today by G. Mitchell, leader of the Democratic majority in the Senate; C. Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; and S. Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, who announced a decision to conduct a series of comprehensive hearings devoted to an analysis of the significance of these fast-moving changes for U.S. national security and foreign policy.

"The chairmen of both committees considered that such an analysis merits special attention and close coordination between them. Bearing in mind the significance of events in Europe and the Soviet Union and their effect on U.S. policy, we are convinced that such a coordinated series of hearings is well-timed and necessary," G. Mitchell declared.

The speakers' statements indicated that it is planned to summon high-ranking representatives of the Bush administration, including the secretary of state, the secretary of defense, and leading political science experts, to testify before the Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees. "It is my hope that we will conduct a good investigation of the question of whether our reaction to events in Central Europe and East Europe has been adequate," Senator Pell said. In Senator Nunn's words, "this year has proved the most important in recent times from the viewpoint of foreign policy and military strategy." "It is necessary," he noted, "to discuss the significance and consequences of changes in their interrelationship with the entire U.S. military-political course in the international arena."

Safety of Texas Nuclear Arms Plant Questioned

PM1312103189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Report from news agency roundup: "Awesome Warning"]

[Text] The only U.S. plant carrying out the final assembly of nuclear weapons does not have sufficiently reliable means of preventing radiation leaks. That is the conclusion of a group of experts commissioned by U.S. Energy Secretary Watkins to study the plant, belonging to the Pentex military corporation on the outskirts of Amarillo, Texas, where they worked for a month. The commission's report says: "It is absolutely obvious that the enterprise's radiation safety department cannot function effectively in the event of an emergency situation which could result from a release of radioactive substances."

Agricultural Cooperation Talks With U.S. End

LD0912114689 Moscow TASS in English 2212 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 9 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Grigoriyev:

The 9th session of the Soviet-American Joint Commission for Agricultural Cooperation ended in Moscow on Friday.

The Soviet delegation was led by Yuriy Borisov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Foods and Purchases, the American—by Under-Secretary of Agriculture Richard Crowder.

The two sides noted that Soviet-American summits had created favourable conditions for developing scientific, technological and economic cooperation in agri-industrial production.

The Soviet Union and the United States have increased exchanges with scientific-technological and economic information, as well as with scientists and experts. Soviet experts are sent on long-term trips to study at American universities or train at U.S. farms.

The commission signed a protocol on stepping up cooperation in agricultural research and technical developments, the food industry and forestry.

An agreement was reached to exchange with scientists and experts in the years 1990-1991. A group of American experts will come to the Soviet Union to study the impact of weather and climate on agriculture, develop measures to protect ecological systems and conduct other scientific studies.

A new working group for cooperation in the food industry was set up to develop joint businesses to process and pack agricultural produce.

Only four Soviet-U.S. agricultural ventures have been set up so far.

Under the general agreement between the Soviet foreign trade consortium and American trade consortium, the sides are negotiating the possibility of establishing joint enterprises to process soya beans and oil-bearing seeds, manufacture glucose-and-fruit syrups, crackers, baby food and tomato paste.

American agri-industrial firms have made more than 30 proposals to establish joint ventures on Soviet territory.

The commission noted that many American firms and some Soviet partners are slow in establishing joint ventures. The participants in the talks expressed the hope that the setting up of the joint working group for cooperation in the food industry will make it possible to step up bilateral cooperation in this major field.

China

U.S., PRC Support for Khmer Rouge Viewed

OW1412090389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 12 Dec 89

[(Malenkinov) commentary from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] Listeners, fighting is going on in the northern and western parts of Cambodia bordering the provinces of Thailand. The U.S. press, which reports on the situation there, often portrays the following scene: Cambodian opposition parties joint armed forces are challenging the Cambodian Government Army. People are often told that the Vietnamese Army is helping the Phnom Penh army. It is said that the Vietnamese Army did not pull out of Cambodia. We repeat: We hear this news almost every day. However, there are other developments in the situation there. Our station observer (Malenkinov) has the following comment:

I would like to point out that Son Sann is one of the chieftains of the Cambodian opposition party. By the way, I must note that the strength of the clique led by Son Sann is quite poor. Its combat effectiveness is far inferior to Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge. Therefore, Cambodia's former premier, Son Sann, asked all big powers to make efforts to seek a political solution to the Cambodia issue.

The U.S. WASHINGTON POST clearly elucidates Son Sann's motives for his diplomatic action. Published on 4 December, it wrote: The Cambodian former premier is worrying about the Khmer Rouge army, that is, the biggest strength in the coalition resistance government recognized by the United Nations can resort to warfare to seize political power. Now, after seeing those Pol Pot elements sabotage the Paris peace agreement in August 1989 and expose their desire to seize political power in Cambodia, I think Son Sann's diplomatic action again proves that the opposition party's so-called coalition government is not as solid as people have said. Instead, it conceals the Pol Pot bandits' disunited coalition.

THE WASHINGTON POST did not conceal its worry about the soaring enthusiasm of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge. It wrote: The whole world can see that people are worried about the increasing possibility of the Khmer Rouge seizing political power in Cambodia after the Vietnamese Army went home in September 1989. I believe the THE WASHINGTON POST's stand is objective and solemn. It makes people understand why the Pol Pot clique militarily won certain victories. Thanks to THE WASHINGTON POST's stand, we can clarify a very important situation: Today, whoever is helping the Khmer Rouge is moving in a direction precisely opposite to the political solution to Cambodia issue. If a partner of Pol Pot's so-called coalition government is also alarmed, then people will understand that the Khmer Rouge's goal runs counter to the goal of other cliques, called moderate opposition parties. Who is helping the Khmer Rouge anyway?

Though this is clearly known to all, I will cite what I believe is a rather objective document, an open letter by 62 noted Western social and political activists to leaders of the United States, Britain, and France on 7 December. The letter said: As is known to all people, the U.S. Government, together with China, still lets the Khmer Rouge use secret materials and military aid on U.S. bases in Cambodian-Thai border areas. The writers of this letter also call Britain and France countries that offer help to Pol Pot elements. Western social activists said the U.S., British, and French Governments' stand cannot be accepted politically or morally.

USSR-PRC Border Cooperation Reviewed

OW1412015089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Report by station observer (Libeliyev)]

[Text] A meeting between Soviet and Chinese water conservation experts was held in Harbin recently. The Soviet delegation was headed by (Liseyev), deputy minister of land reclamation and water resources of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]. He proposed a comprehensive cooperation plan to his Chinese counterpart on jointly utilizing and regulating water resources along the border areas. The plan calls for concerted efforts by the two sides to fight floods, which often cause serious losses to many Soviet regions and Chinese neighboring provinces. The two sides also discussed building plants for manufacturing modern equipment for land reclamation.

The workers for utilizing the Amur River have summed up their achievements in the 1989 navigation season. Together with navigation workers from Heilongjiang Province, they jointly shipped nearly 200,000 metric tons of trade commodities between the Soviet Union and China in 1 year and plan to increase the total to 300,000 metric tons.

The Amur Navigation Bureau and the Harbin Ship Repair Plant have successfully promoted cooperation this year. The Chinese plant repaired the Soviet passenger ship (Vasily Toyalkov). The second Soviet ship, (Mikroho Makrey) of the same type has arrived at the Harbin Ship Repair Plant for repair work.

Chinese construction workers from (Hure) Banner have built six construction projects in Chita Oblast with high quality according to the schedule. For instance, the Chinese workers rebuilt two brick plants and increased the daily output of each plant from 5,000 to 20,000 bricks. Some of the products will also be used by China.

Among the facilities built by Chinese workers is a large commercial center of the Red Giant Farm in the Bayka area. In order to commend the high quality of work of the Chinese workers and their completion of those facilities ahead of schedule, a Moscow brand sedan was presented to the Chinese construction company.

The two international highways between China's Yining residential area to the Soviet Union's Panfirov were completed and put into operation 8 months ago. Both sides have transported more than 33,000 passengers. The highways and the flight route between Alma-ata and Urumqi have provided great convenience for visiting relatives and friends, business contacts, and the development of tourism between the two countries.

An art exhibition, entitled Travel to China, was held in Ashkhabasd, capital of Turkmenistan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]. Works by Soviet artist (Sheveyigin), who visited China in the early 1950's, were among those items at the exhibition. The paintings of flowers and plants by him at that time were very popular. The exhibition has attracted great interest from people in the capital of Turkmenistan SSR.

This report on the development of cooperation between the Soviet Union and China will now end with a famous piece of music from Turkmenistan SSR. [two minutes of music follows]

Expansion of Soviet-Chinese Trade Reported

OW0812134489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 26 Nov 89

[By reporter (Machenko)]

[Excerpts] According to information released by the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, business turnover between China and the Soviet Union this year will reach R2 billion. This is a record figure for the past few years. The following is a report by this station's reporter (Machenko).

In the 1980's the business turnover between the two countries increased more than ninefold. This is a fact known by all. However, it should be admitted that there is still economic and trade potential to be tapped between the Soviet Union and China. The Soviet Union currently ranks fifth among China's greatest trade partners. Let's see what the two countries sell to each other. Machinery products account for nearly 40% of Soviet exports to China. They are sets of equipment for thermal power generating plants; flax mills; and metallurgical plants as well as lathes and means of transportation, including aircraft, electric locomotives, and rolling stock. More and more Soviet automobiles confidently occupied the Chinese market. Soviet automobiles, though (?technically) still behind those made in Japan and Western countries, are easy to repair and last a long time. That is why they are very much welcomed in China. Among the consumer goods shipped to China are household refrigerators, heating equipment, cameras, clocks, watches, and pianos. The Soviet Union imports farm produce, garments, knit goods, cloth, some industrial raw materials, and handicraft products from China.

I would like to ask the audience to pay attention to these facts: Soviet-Chinese trade has been conducted in accordance with governmental agreements. Soviet-Chinese border trade was restored in 1983 after being suspended for a long period of time. Since then border trade has been carried on between the Soviet Union's Far East and central Asian region and China's three northeast provinces, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, and the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region. [passage omitted]

The number of enterprises and organizations having established direct contacts with their counterparts in other countries has been gradually increasing. Having established direct ties, they developed production cooperation with their counterparts, exchanged technology with them, traded with them, or bartered goods with them. [passage omitted]

Vlasov Greets Conference on RSFSR-PRC Ties

PM1312130589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Dec 89 Single Edition p 3

[TASS report: "In the Interests of Good-Neighborliness"]

[Text] Questions of all-around ties between the Russian Federation and the PRC were the theme of a scientific and practical conference organized by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Ministry of Internal Affairs and the USSR Academy of Sciences Far East Institute that opened 12 December in Moscow.

Sinologists and leading officials from a number of union and Russian ministries, departments, and social organizations took part, along with representatives of local organs of power in Far Eastern and Eastern krays and oblasts.

A greeting was read out at the conference from A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

PRC Publishing, Printing Group Ends Visit

OW1312064989 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Excerpt] The Chinese publishing and printing workers' delegation ended its 6-day visit to the Soviet Union on 29 November. The delegation included experts from Shanghai Municipality and Guangdong Province. They visited a number of publishing houses and printing mills in New Siberia and Moscow. They also held talks with the Soviet side on matters of cooperation between the two countries.

(Ouyang Lian), director of the Guangdong Science and Technology Publishing House, talked about the delegations' visit to the Soviet Union.

[Begin (Ouyang) recording] Our visit to the Soviet Union is to promote friendly contacts between the two countries, because the people of China and the Soviet Union are always friendly toward each other. Although there was an unpleasant period, the people of the two countries have always been friendly. Our current visit is precisely to develop this friendly relationship. In this trip, we have visited the publishing house of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, its branch publishing house in New Siberia, the No. 4 Printing Mill in New Siberia and Dongfang Publishing House. In visiting those units, we were very well received. We feel that the Soviet people are indeed friendly toward the Chinese people. [end recording]

The Chinese experts also visited the No. 2 Printing Mill of the Moscow Science Publishing House. [passage omitted]

Taiwan Trade Delegation Ends Visit

OW0912165089 Taipei Domestic Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Report from Moscow by special correspondent (Tseng Shih-yung)]

[Text] The Republic of China's [ROC] East Europe trade delegation concluded its visit to the Soviet Union today. (Hu Li-min), head of the delegation and section chief of the Foreign Trade Association of the ROC, pointed out: The ROC should strengthen trade with the Soviet Union and expand trade with more partners. Special correspondent (Tseng Shih-yung) has more:

[Begin recording] [(Tseng)] The East Europe trade delegation, organized by the Foreign Trade Association, concludes its visit to the Soviet Union today. The group received a warm welcome from Soviet industrial and business circles. (Hu Li-min), head of the group and section chief of the Foreign Trade Association, said that Sino-Soviet trade is now steadily growing. This phenomenon will benefit industries which would otherwise become sunset industries in our country.

[(Hu)] As far as the Soviet trade structure is concerned, the Soviet Union can sell lots of raw materials to Taiwan, which is what we need. We can sell lots of consumer goods to the Soviet Union. By doing so, some of our so-called sunset industries, which now face a crisis, can again develop their production.

[(Tseng)] Section Chief (Hu Li-min) noted: Last year the trade volume between our country and East Europe was only $400 million, while this year's trade volume is expected to exceed $800 million. He called on all circles in the ROC to reassess the stiff Soviet image we saw in the past and further develop trade ties and relations between the ROC and the Soviet Union. [end recording]

Northeast Asia

Increase Observed in USSR-ROK Trade

SK1212132889 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] The trade volume between the ROK and the Soviet Union over the first 10 months of this year has reached $423 million, according to [word indistinct] from Seoul. This is an increase of 2.1% as compared with the same period last year.

Electronic industrial goods, [word indistinct], and [word indistinct] constitute the main items that the ROK exports to the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union exports agricultural and [word indistinct] to the Korean market.

DPRK To Build Homes for Vladivostok Fishermen

SK0912122889 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] A contract was signed not long ago in Vladivostok between (Danileva), a Soviet fisheries complex, and the DPRK's general bureau of economic cooperation with foreign countries for the construction of dwellings for fishery workers in Primorskiy Kray.

This contract is completely new to our fishery workers. So, our station reporter asked (Viktor Sukorov), director general of the (Danileva) complex, for his comments on this contract.

[Announcer-read (Viktor Sukorov) comments] On 2 August, an agreement was signed between the Soviet and the DPRK Governments on the principle of construction in the Soviet territory. According to this agreement, we are planning to build 10,000 dwellings for fishery workers.

We have already conducted talks at a preparatory stage with the Korean side and discussed the principle of the future cooperation.

Terms of mutual payment will be as follows: Fifty% will be used as payment of the DPRK's national debt owed to the Soviet Union, and the remaining 50% will be paid in surplus fish, as a form of account settlement with the Korean construction workers, according to [word indistinct] principle.

The construction of dwellings will depend largely on our construction materials and our designs, and the plastering materials will be supplied by the Korean side.

(?Blueprints) will be made by the Korean architects and our side will consult with the Korean architects over the issue of [word indistinct] standard question.

The construction itself will be undertaken by the Korean construction workers. First of all, they will build a 25-story apartment house in Vladivostok. This will become the highest building in the city.

A sketch of the fishery workers' cultural hall equipped with general sports facilities has already been completed. This, a very beautiful building, will have all the accommodations that the adults and children need for rest and sports.

A vast amount of work is to be done. We are grateful to the Korean construction workers for helping us to solve the social welfare problem.

(Viktor Sukorov) said: Construction of dwellings is under way in Vladivostok on a large scale. However, the fishery industrial organizations have no [word indistinct] or very weak construction bases of their own. Therefore, they have very few dwellings.

The fishery workers think they have two ways of solving this problem. One of them is to create a construction industry of their own, and the other is to cooperate with fellow foreign workers.

They have had their first successful experience of cooperation with their Chinese construction workers. This time around, the Korean construction workers are to build a district of dwellings. Of course, successful construction needs the efforts of the fishery organizations in Primorskiy Kray and their Korean colleagues.

On this point, Comrade Kang Won-chang, deputy in charge of Korea's general bureau of cooperation with foreign countries, says: [Announcer speaking for Kang Won-chang] We should build the fishery workers' factories and dwellings in Vladivostok and Nakhodka. Blueprints and (?engineering groups) for these projects have already been prepared.

The paperwork will be completed and then construction will begin next February. As the contract has been signed, we believe that the two sides will successfully carry out their mutual commitment in a timely manner. This will provide the fishery workers with better living conditions.

Colleagues' optimism and their serious [word indistinct] create joy. We will be reporting on the progress of the construction that will begin soon and the move in by the new dwellers upon its completion.

Soviet Aid in Building Pyongyang Plant Noted

SK1212133689 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Unattributed talk from the "Annals of Friendship" program]

[Text] Pyongyang General Textile Plant, a big enterprise in the light industrial sector of the DPRK, was dedicated 35 years ago. The dedication of this enterprise was of great significance in the post-war rehabilitation of the DPRK's people's economy. Let us recall that era. The Korean War has just ended. Many bases in the country were ruined, and many necessities were in short supply. However, a textile plant was dedicated in Pyongyang. The base of the Republic's textile industry was built in the shortest period of time, a year and a half. Thousands of citizens of the capital participated in the construction. The plant was built based upon the economic cooperation between our two countries. The Soviet Union made a blueprint, supplied necessary facilities, and assisted in their fabrication and operation. Many Soviet enterprises participated in the technological [word indistinct] of the plant. The (Krelin) mechanical plant complex supplied Pyongyang with automation equipment which has a big production capacity, and spinning machines were manufactured in Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan. Soviet experts also helped train competent spinners and weavers and machine operators. Approximately 1,500 experts were trained in training institutes that were established in Pyongyang. The enterprise was soon operating at its full capacity.

The enterprise produces 65 million meters of fabrics a year. However, without being satisfied with their achievements so far, Pyongyang spinners and weavers are endlessly modernizing production facilities and increasing the production of goods. Close ties were established between this plant and its Soviet friend, (Orehubo) Textile Plant, Moscow. The two enterprises regularly exchange work experience. Soviet spinners and weavers are helping Korean spinners and weavers learn new skills and introduce new methods for producing fabrics.

USSR-DPRK Cultural Exchanges Cited

SK0812055189 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Excerpt] The year 1989 is almost over. It is normal practice to sum up what one has done and to plan for the future at the end of the year.

The cultural area is a field of comprehensive Soviet-Korean cooperation.

Our station reporter asked (Nina Girenko), official of the Foreign Relations Administration of the Soviet Ministry of Culture, to speak about Soviet-Korean cultural relations.

(Nina Girenko) said that cultural exchanges with the DPRK have been conducted based on the 1988-1990 intergovernmental cultural cooperation plan.

(Nina Girenko) said that, in 1989, our cooperation has continued in the same direction and scope as in the past. [passage omitted]

Southeast Asia & Pacific

More on Rogachev's Phnom Penh Visit

BK1412065789 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] On 11 and 12 December political consultations were held in Phnom Penh between the Soviets and Cambodians, undertaken by Comrade Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev of the Soviet Union and Comrade First Deputy Foreign Minister Dit Munti of the State of Cambodia. Present at the the meeting was the ambassador of the Soviet Union to Cambodia, Comrade Khamidulin.

The two sides closely examined all aspects of the Cambodian issue. They noted that for the time being it is important to make all-out efforts to prevent a flare-up of the civil war and to put an end to military aid to all warring parties. The Soviet Union and Cambodia held that it is necessary to support the dynamic continuation of the process of negotiations.

The two sides signed an intergovernmental protocol on the establishment of a Soviet consulate general in the port city of Kompong Som and a plan of cooperation between the Foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union and that of the State of Cambodia for 1990-91.

On 12 December, Comrade Hun Sen, member of the Political Bureau of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of foreign affairs of the State of Cambodia, held talks with Comrade Rogachev. During this friendly conversation, the two sides paid keen attention to discussing the Cambodian problem. Comrade Hun Sen briefed his guest on the plan of the Cambodian leadership to prevent any further aggravation of the civil war and to find a way out of the conflict via negotiations in order to realize the policy of national reconciliation.

The Soviet side highly appreciated the flexible stance of the Cambodian Government in the search for a solution through concessions. Proof of this Cambodian posture was the statement made a few days ago by Comrade Hun Sen concerning his readiness to study the latest proposals advanced by Thailand and Australia and to examine the possibility of the United Nations playing a more active role in the Cambodian settlement.

What is vitally important now is that all parties concerned should display a realistic policy, which will surely promote finding an early comprehensive peaceful solution to the country's problem.

Comrades Khamidulin and Dit Munti were also present at the talks between Hun Sen and Comrade Rogachev.

Cambodia Insurgents Reduced to 'Terror Tactics'

PM1312113189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 5

[B. Vinogradov dispatch under the "IZVESTIYA Correspondents Comment" rubric: "Cambodia: The Army Has the Initiative"]

[Text] Phnom Penh—Many people who follow the development of the situation around Cambodia predicted and expected this turn of events. The extensive government troop offensive on Khmer opposition groupings' combat formations which began 4 December has substantially changed the situation that has taken shape in the country's northwest regions over the last 2 months. The commentators' forecasts look different too now, and they are asking: Where is the way to end the long years of conflict?

As has already been reported, in earlier fighting and stepped-up sabotage actions opposition forces succeeded in seizing certain regional cities and small population centers close to the Thai border. The combat operations which were being conducted and are still being conducted to gain control of fortified positions and hills of no great strategic significance kept up the pressure on large bodies of Cambodian People's Armed Forces, which had no chance of mounting wide-ranging operations on roads made impassable by rain.

The government troops have now regrouped, an AFP correspondent reports from Bangkok, and are making effective use of their tank equipment and artillery, which is having a substantial impact on the situation as a whole. Under their attack, the enemy has been forced to retreat, leaving the territories it occupied and sustaining heavy losses. Thus Son Sann and Sihanouk detachments were dislodged from Svay Chek.

Control has been fully restored over the three main highways leading into the heart of the country, which Pol Pot's supporters tried to sever. The Thai military authorities have expressed misgivings because the fighting is flaring up nearer and nearer to the border and this could jeopardize the security and life of peaceful villages on their country's territory.

Commenting on recent events, all the news agencies note that the Phnom Penh army has completely won the initiative and that the opposition is likely to have no response to this onslaught other than minor terror tactics and sabotage. Incidentally, the Pol Pot supporters are channeling their efforts mainly in this direction, choosing remote villages and inaccessible mountain regions as their sphere of interest. They expect to replenish their ranks there with young peasant recruits and also solve the food supply problem.

The 2 months or more of war following the departure of the Vietnamese subunits have been very significant. Whereas quite recently it was thought that it would take Cambodia 6 months or a year to see the situation clearly, as the opposing sides tried out their capabilities, many people are now inclined to believe that "things are clear, on the whole." There is no question of any "broad offensive" by Khmer groupings on Battambang, Siem Reap, or particularly Phnom Penh, which emigre circles have mentioned over and over recently. With no reliable lines of supply and communication or supply bases, and encountering resistance from people's militia forces at every turn, the enemy detachments have found themselves unable to achieve substantial success. Although they did succeed in overcoming Phnom Penh army defense lines in some areas, they were unable to dig in and establish a hold on the points they had captured.

All these facts do not, of course, mean that the struggle is over or that the enemy have abandoned their attempts to achieve their aim by force of arms. Many Asian countries' history and experience reveal the vitality of subversive methods of fighting used by various separatist antigovernment groupings. Despite realizing the utter futility of armed operations, Khmer reactionary forces will evidently continue the war in the hope of foreign support. However, specialists believe that every new phase of fighting will only prove the supremacy of the Phnom Penh government—a government with which both various UN missions and states wishing to take part in a political settlement have to deal. The positions of the Hun Sen government, which has once again confirmed that there is and can be no room in the national conciliation process for Pol Pot's supporters because they pose a threat to the Cambodian nation, are now notable for their seriousness and confidence.

Vietnam's Attitude Toward Cambodia Examined

BK1412080789 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Station observer Viktor Valentinov commentary]

[Text] In the past few days, while various countries have been making efforts to normalize the situation in Cambodia, Vietnam's attitude has particularly attracted people's attention. In every corner, people keep asking the same question: Is Vietnam ready to make a constructive contribution to a solution to the Cambodian problem? Will Vietnam attend the new meeting in Jakarta, if this meeting takes place? The clear answer to this question was provided in Hanoi. Our observer Viktor Valentinov writes.

Soviet-Vietnamese consultations on a number of issues of mutual interest, including the Cambodian problem, have been successively held in Hanoi. Like the Soviet Union, Vietnam adheres to a stance of finding a comprehensive political solution for Cambodia to prevent a civil war in this country and to further continue negotiations. In my view, those who really want to restore peace in Cambodia can now proceed with more certainty in organization of a new meeting in Jakarta.

Dear listeners may object by saying that this is nothing but a series of statements; judging events in practical terms is what counts. Responding to this, I would like to appeal to everyone to really concentrate on this: If Vietnam had pinned its hopes on a military situation in Cambodia, it certainly would not have withdrawn its troops from there. The withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, as everyone knows, was completed at the end of this September. Although some people still doubt this, the evidence provided by the Thai foreign minister and the British Government representative are very significant. Both personalities have stated that the Vietnamese troops were withdrawn. A new phase of relations with Cambodia has begun.

To those who think this evidence is still not enough, I would just like to recall the resolution on the Cambodian problem adopted by the European Parliament. Because Vietnamese troops have all been withdrawn from Cambodia, the European Parliament has appealed to governments and West European states to establish normal relations with the State of Cambodia's government. The essence of this resolution stresses the necessity of ending all outside assistance to the Pol Pot clique so as to contribute to a solution to the Cambodian problem.

In my view, there is yet another major aspect. If Vietnam had pinned its hopes on a military situation in Cambodia, it certainly would not have been willing to greatly reduce its armed forces. It ought to be said that in the past 2 years, Vietnam has reduced its troops by over half a million men, including over 100,000 officers. Another interesting thing is that while constantly withdrawing its troops from Cambodia, Vietnam has not designated any of these units, large or small, as reserve forces; these troops have in fact been reduced. Listeners would certainly agree that if Vietnam planned to continue the war, it would not proceed in this manner, but quite the opposite. The activities carried out by Vietnam are very reasonable for a country that is busily engaging in such activities as reforming and improving socialist figure and economy.

Another circumstance which I would like to draw listeners' attention to is that a few months ago, Vietnam took a major foreign policy step by announcing its desire to improve relations with its northern neighboring state, that is China. In an article published in the magazine QUOC PHONG TOAN DAN, Comrade Le Duc Anh, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee Political Bureau and SRV Defense Minister, wrote: Every problem in Vietnamese-Chinese relations can and should be solved peacefully through talks.

This step, which was taken at a final stage full of responsibility for Southeast Asia, has many aspects. First of all, it shows that the SRV's basic goal of good neighborly relations and cooperation with neighboring countries remains unchanged.

Laos' Kaysone Departs Moscow for Paris

PM1212142989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Lao People's Democratic Republic Council of Ministers, who was stopping over in the Soviet Union on his way to France, left Moscow for Paris 11 December.

Causes, Effects of Manila Coup Attempt Viewed

HK1112054589 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 9 Dec 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] The coup d'etat launched by rebel soldiers of the Philippine Armed Forces has been put down. The rebellion ended when the rebels surrendered and laid down their weapons after negotiating with the government side. So what do the rebels now face? Such a question is not the only one being asked today.

This has been the sixth coup attempt in the past three and a half years mounted by elements in the military seeking to grab political power from the Aquino Government. Why does the Philippines, which has a constitutional basis as the result of People's Power in 1986, continue to be plagued by coup attempts and military conspiracies? Efforts at maintaining stability in the Philippines continue to be thwarted, perhaps because, unlike other Southeast Asian countries, it hosts large American military facilities.

It is possible that such events keep occurring because after President Corazon Aquino was installed and her reformist programs initiated, nationalist elements began to press for uplifting the country's dignity and sovereignty. These nationalist members were the ones who dislodged former President Ferdinand Marcos, thus achieving the Rubicon [as heard] wherein the Philippines could finally shake off American colonization. This would include removing the American military bases, which employ many Filipinos and which are the foremost colonial symbols. The bases are the center of attacks by Filipinos struggling to achieve genuine freedom and to convince the rest of their countrymen to join the fight.

This situation has worried Washington, which has been seeking to ensure that its military bases will stay. However, under the leadership of President Aquino, such a guarantee has not been made since many in her government oppose the retention of the bases. These include the Senate, which is the upper house of the Philippine Congress, most of whose members oppose the military bases. Furthermore, the Senate issued a resolution questioning the use of these bases by the Pentagon to stockpile nuclear weapons in the Asia-Pacific region.

A coup d'etat took place on August 28, 1987, led by former Colonel Gregorio Honasan. Many, including Congressman Homobono Adaza, believe that the coup was related to moves against the military bases. As stated by some analysts, the aborted 1987 coup has had a big influence on decisions made by President Aquino—one of these involved a top government official starting a campaign to support the U.S. military presence and term it a guarantee of stability.

Discussions on this matter continue, and Manila is having trouble resolving the issue. Such talks between Washington and Manila began in 1988 and lasted several months, resulting in Washington being unable to obtain assurances that its bases would not be dismantled.

Washington's pledge to extend financial assistance has given the Philippine Government pause, and Filipinos have condemned what they call "economic blackmail" exerted on President Aquino during her visit to the United States last November.

New talks between Washington and Manila scheduled for this month have been postponed because of the recent coup attempt by rebel soldiers. Prospects for the United States are not good, as some analysts declare that the Americans had a hand in the recent rebellion. This was mentioned in the INDONESIAN OBSERVER which quoted [name indistinct], deputy chief of the Indonesian parliament, as saying that the CIA had backed the soldiers' rebellion so that the United States could strengthen its position vis-a-vis the future of the military bases. This may or may not be true.

Many officials in the Aquino Government, such as Senate President Jovito Salonga, believe President Aquino's call for military assistance from the Americans has weakened Manila's position in the forthcoming talks. U.S. military forces were never involved in the country's affairs in the past. Recently, Aquino's troops were able to make the rebels back down, and therefore foreign businessmen believe that the situation will improve and they can do business once again. But how can business prosper in any country if its government needs to ask for foreign assistance in order to maintain peace and order? Thus thought foreign visitors as they passed through the Ninoy Aquino International Airport after being freed from a hotel in Makati. Were they frightened off by local residents? If such happenings continue to take place in the Philippines, this will be a black mark against the government which is endeavoring to promote livelihood programs and attract foreign capital as part of what President Aquino continually announces is the cornerstone of her administration.

Meanwhile, if the United States continues to trumpet that the Philippines needs the military bases so as to protect its democratic institutions, while the opposite keeps occurring, this only succeeds in damaging the government's position.

It is difficult today to predict what will happen in the future or whether the state of emergency in the country will continue to complicate the country's political life, even as the the issue of the U.S. military bases is kept clandestine [as heard]. Meanwhile is it possible that this situation will be exploited by those people who wish to keep the U.S. military bases in the Philippines for as long as possible?

Near East & South Asia

Kabul Exhibition of Captured Rebel Arms Noted

LD1312222589 Moscow TASS in English 2133 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Kabul December 13 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy:

I have been to a Kabul exhibition of arms captured in battles with rebels many times, but I was most impressed by the exposition I saw today.

In a glass case there, 58 grey cylinders lay side-by-side—a set used in cluster-bomb rockets made in the United States. The rockets explode in mid-air scattering between 26 and 30 bombs over extensive areas. The bombs, in turn, are detonated to spray pieces that kill people and other living beings. Civilians suffer first and foremost as helmets and bullet-proof vests shield soldiers quite dependably against the attack.

These rockets are most dangerous when used to bombard cities. They kill or wound severely. No surgery can extract every tiny particle from the human body.

The weapons, proclaimed inhuman and banned by international conventions, were sent to rebels by the Central Intelligence Agency via Pakistan last summer.

Long two-stage SAKR-30 rockets and one-stage SAKR-20's, made in Arab countries, are also used by rebels in the "war of cities". They too, are designed to kill civilians.

At the Kabul exhibition one can see an array of ground-to-ground rockets—from Chinese-made "Arrows" to American "Stingers" to British "Blowpipes". Guided anti-tank Milan missiles were made in the United States under licence from Italy specially for Afghan rebels.

Other armaments include Chinese rocket launchers, anti-aircraft guns, mortars and grenade launchers, machine and submachine guns of all makes, Italian and British mines capable of blowing up people and tanks.

The ominous display attests to the range of military aid to rebels flowing in from the United States, Pakistan and elsewhere. The supplies are planned to continue: In 1990 rebels will get 750 million U.S. dollars worth of new types of weapons. Of these, 280 million were earmarked by the U.S. Congress, the remainder will be contributed by Saudi Arabia.

Afghan presidential spokesman Major General Gholam Sahi Ahmar told TASS that hopes for the speedy establishment of peace in the country after the withdrawal of Soviet troops have failed to materialise—the United States and their allies began massive supplies of arms to their "customers" in Afghanistan. The flow of arms, that grossly defies the Geneva Accords, has not stopped since.

The following numbers can best illustrate the rate of escalation of the undeclared war: Over the past ten months rebels have bombarded various targets, above all cities, with more than four million rockets, artillery shells and mines. More than 300 big bombs and explosive laden automobiles were exploded.

As a result, 2,600 civilians were killed and nearly 5,700 people wounded, including many women and children. More than 900 rockets hit Kabul, one third more than during the respective period last year. During the four-month siege of Jalalabad, the city was showered with thousands of rockets, artillery shells and mines daily.

Thousands of heavy weapons were seized during battles against extremists, the general continued to say. These included 15 Stingers, four Blowpipes, eight Arrows, 1,300 SAKR-30's and 800 SAKR-20's, eight cluster bomb rockets and nearly two tonnes of explosives.

It is estimated that over the past decade, rebels have received from the United States five billion dollars worth of arms, to say nothing about other kinds of military aid. Since February 15 this year, they have received 1.5 billion dollars worth of weapons.

It is absolutely clear to us that the United States, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia have joined forces to undermine Afghanistan's economy and thus return the country to its state decades ago.

'Many' Afghan Rebels Accepting Peace With Kabul

PM1312163189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[Dispatch by PRAVDA and TASS special correspondents S. Oposhnyanskiy and Yu. Tyssovskiy under the general heading: "On the Road to Peace"]

[Text] Kabul, December—"Musalikha-ye milli" [as transliterated] ("national reconciliation")—today these words in Dari are understood by and are dear to Pushtuns, Tajiks, Khazars, Turkmens, and representatives of the other ethnic groups inhabiting multinational Afghanistan. They are also well-known "on the other side of the barricades," in Peshawar, among the armed formations of the intransigent opposition. But whereas the majority of the inhabitants of the "land of mountains" associate with these words hopes for imminent peace, security, and creative labor, this expression is taboo among the rebels in the Islamic parties and their supporters.

"Musalikha-ye milli" is a policy formulated by the Afghan leadership and implemented by it for 3 years now. What are its results, and how does this multifaceted mechanism, which enjoys growing support and has already yielded visible fruits, function?

At that time, 3 years ago, the new slogan was perceived with a certain amount of pessimism not only among the people but also in the party itself. First, psychologically and in practice, it was made clear to members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan under the governments of N.M. Taraki and H. Amin that there could be no compromise with any opposition—that would be "a betrayal of the revolution's ideals." The strong-arm approach to resolving the most important internal problems was also preferred later, under Babrak Karmal, although not in such forms. Second, many people perceived the opposition as a unified, monolithic bloc, totally hostile, without nuances or shades in the spectrum of opposition forces, the potential for cooperation with which was actually quite wide. Third, many regarded the policy of national reconciliation as one more propaganda slogan designed to split the ranks of the mujahidin. (This, unfortunately, is how this was and still is perceived by certain Peshawar leaders of the "transitional government").

With the passage of time Kabul took important measures to democratize state, political, and social structures; elections were held to the National Council and many opposition representatives joined it; a law on political parties was approved; and a government was formed in which important posts were reserved for opposition representatives. In the name of restoring peace and tranquility in the country, in the space of less than 3 years the central government advanced more than 30 initiatives of various kinds to settle the conflict. They were all rejected by the intransigents.

However, the Afghan leadership's sensible, flexible, and far-reaching proposals proved very attractive to those who realized that national concord is the only way out of a very profound crisis for Afghanistan.

Work on implementing the national reconciliation policy is now being carried out over a wide front. The party apparatus, the Army, the Ministries of Internal Affairs and State Security, economic establishments, and public organizations are involved in it. They are all working in the same direction and, importantly, with due regard for the unique specific nature of Afghan society. Given its mixed nature, its community-tribal nature, a tremendous role in resolving problems locally is played by the so-called authorities: tribal leaders, mullahs, sheikhs, and pirs—that is, people who have influence among the people. During the first years of the revolution many of them had their rights infringed, were debarred from involvement in managerial matters, and were even subjected to repression, which was naturally perceived in a very negative way by the population. After the proclamation of the national reconciliation policy, the government appealed to them to use all their influence and prestige for the good of the inhabitants of a particular district suffering from the war, for peace, and for the rejection of armed struggle. And these people, forgetting past grudges, made contact with their relatives and friends "on the other side" and brought them to talks with representatives of the state authority, frequently at a risk to their own lives.

Our numerous interlocutors—people directly implementing the national reconciliation policy on the scale of the whole country, including representatives of Afghanistan's Armed Forces—invariably pointed out that the chief emphasis in current work is placed on eliminating the conflict in the country by means of negotiation, avoiding strong-arm influence where possible. It is perfectly understandable, they said, that each field commander pursue definite ends in contacting us. He wishes, above all, to secure some advantages for his own people and for the population of the zone he controls: weapons, ammunition, clothes, foodstuffs, essentials, and much besides. If there is confidence in the sincerity of his intentions, such a commander gets what he requires within the framework of an accord that is reached. In return he pledges to guarantee tranquility and peace in his own district and to control the ensuring of security on a particular section of a highway used for transporting national economic freight. And, of course, he must cease all combat operations against government troops.

The highest form of accord is the signing of protocols which clearly record the responsibilities of one side or the other. Combat units and subunits are very frequently formed on the basis of "contract" formations of former rebels which have joined or do join the ranks of the Republic of Afghanistan Armed Forces. It is possible to cite as an example the 80th Division of Ismaili Khazars under the command of Major General Dzhafar Naderi [name as transliterated], governor of Baghlan Province. It guards a long section of the Hayratan-Kabul highway. Dostom's [name as published] division operates in Jowzjan, and Said Akhmad's [name as transliterated] in Herat.

The policy of national reconciliation is yielding particularly rich fruits in the north of the country, as we could see for ourselves during trips to Balkh and Badghis Provinces. The levers of influence of the Peshawar "seven" here differ little from those in the south and southeast. They are money, arms, food, and other goods, but it is extremely difficult to deliver them to northern districts, and the central government has regained the initiative here. In Balkh, for example, opposition formations have moved over to the revolutionary regime's side almost en masse. Leading personnel from local party organs told us that two brigades have been created just recently out of former fighters of armed opposition detachments and incorporated in the Army. In all, according to President Najibullah, 74 detachments with a total strength of 24,000 men have gone over to the central government in Afghanistan over the past 3 months, and cease-fire protocols have been signed with 113 groups (30,000 fighting men).

The "reconciliation districts" being created in Afghanistan are attracting an ever-greater number of returning emigres from Pakistani refugee camps, who are going to southern districts—to Qandahar, in particular. Some 26,000 families, a minimum of 150,000 people, have returned there recently. At the same time, according to data from various sources, the number of refugees wishing to find peace in their old homes is overwhelming. And this despite all the obstacles being erected by the Pakistani military and the rebel leaders in Peshawar, who are losing potential "cannon fodder" for actions against the revolutionary government. In other words, the process of many field commanders peeling off from the intransigent opposition, antiwar sentiments in the Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan, and the desire for peace among a people tired of senseless bloodshed are increasingly determining the development of the process of national reconciliation.

Shevardnadze Receives Egyptian Envoy

LD1312214389 Moscow TASS in English 1913 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze today received the Egyptian ambassador to the USSR, Ahmed Mahir al-Sayyid, at his request.

The envoy conveyed a verbal message from Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Ahmad 'Ismat al-Majid.

Shevardnadze and the Egyptian ambassador exchanged views on various aspects of the Middle East situation and a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

It was said that it is necessary to use the favourable opportunities to launching a peace process.

They also discussed Soviet-Egyptian relations and pointed to their advancement.

PLO Envoys Received at Foreign Ministry

PM1412100989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 8 December USSR First Deputy Foreign Ministers Yu.M. Vorontsov and A.A. Bessmertnykh received PLO Executive Committee Members M. 'Abbas and Y. 'Abd-Rabbuh, who have come to Moscow to participate in the work of the Soviet-Palestinian Committee on the Near East.

Participating in the talks were V.P. Polyakov, member of the USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium, and N. 'Amr, the PLO's plenipotentiary representative in the USSR.

Intifadah Seen as Fight For Human Rights

90UI0190A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 49, 6 Dec 89 p 9

[Article by Igor Belyayev: "The Phenomenon of Intifadah" (uprising) under the rubric "Comments of a Political Observer"]

[Text] As we watch the intifadah we are really dealing with something out of the ordinary. And we seem to get closer to the truth if we define it as a campaign of civil disobedience, unprecedented in its power, displayed by Palestinian Arabs fighting for their national rights. Soon it will be 2 years since the campaign started. Let me recall here that Israeli Minister of Defense Yitzhak Rabin was in the United States when the intifadah exploded, and he said then that everything would be brought in order in a few days. Two years have passed. The campaign is not weakening but, to the contrary, it is gaining strength. Today its participants are practically all Palestinian Arabs who live on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip irrespective of their financial status or political sympathies. The intifadah commanders emphasize that they recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as their leader. Its purpose is not only to protest against the immoral Israeli occupation, but also to call an international conference on the Near East. The conference would have made it possible to solve the Palestinian problem, which is at the heart of any settlement in that region.

I would like to recall one more, in my opinion the most important, aspect of the intifadah: the struggle of Palestinian Arabs for their national rights in the course of the "revolution of stones". It really is also a struggle for their human rights. If we admit that every person on earth has the right to live in his own home, why then do the Israeli occupation forces deny that right to the Palestinians? The Geneva Conventions exist and they carry the signatures of Israeli representatives. The conventions outline the rules of waging wars and prescribe the duties of occupation forces. Why then are these conventions not being observed on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip?

I do not think one should separate the concept of human rights from that of national rights, the rights of any nationality. If human rights are violated, then national rights are violated, too, and the opposite is true also. It seems to me that Israel as an occupying nation should respect both the human and inalienable national rights of the Palestinians. If today they think differently in Tel Aviv it is only because they have forgotten the sad lessons of the ordeals of World War II.

Israel appeared as a state on the basis of Resolution No 181 adopted by the UN General Assembly on 29 November 1947. But that very resolution provided for the creation of two states, one Arab and one Jewish, in place of the mandated Palestine. An independent Arab Palestine was not created in 1948. It was the fault of the Palestinian and Arab leaders at the time and of the

British colonialists who intentionally provoked the Israeli-Palestinian and Israeli-Arab conflicts. Let us not try to determine now whose fault was greater. It is more important to emphasize that Resolution No 181 of the UN General Assembly of 29 November 1947 has no period of limitation.

Why then, we would like to ask, now that the Palestine Liberation Organization has renounced terrorism, accepted the existence of Israel, and is ready for any contacts with the Israeli authorities, is Shamir's government now doing everything to avoid a legitimate settlement of the Palestinian problem and is trying to suppress the intifadah? What rights of the Palestinian Arabs on the occupied lands can we talk about if the Israeli soldiers there are killing children, teenagers, women, and old people?

They do not like to answer such questions in Israel as they consider what is happening on the West Bank of the Jordan as some kind of illegal lost-cause revolt. In reality the world has been witnessing an extraordinary event for 2 years already. For 730 days Palestinian Arabs demonstrated not only their wish for resistance, but also their desire to live in their own national state—an independent Arab Palestine—that was proclaimed a year ago. And those in Israel who want to see the intifadah crushed cannot find help either in their military power or in the artful ways of Israeli politicians.

No, the struggle for their human rights, the struggle for the national rights of the Palestinian Arabs, including their right to self-determination, is going on. And one cannot but admire it because this struggle leads to dismembering one of the most complicated and dangerous regional conflicts. The intifadah has a realistic chance to succeed. And the sooner the present leaders of Israel understand it, the better it will be, and mainly for themselves. That would be a victory for the security of Israel which can be guaranteed by the United States and by the Soviet Union, and also a victory for Israel's prestige in today's world. It is impossible, after all, to fight and suppress everyone and everything all around without an end.

Lebanese Leaders Thanks Soviets for Greetings

PM1412093589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Dec 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Reply to Congratulations"]

[Text] In messages to M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and to N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Republic of Lebanon President I. al-Hirawi and Prime Minister S. al-Huss expressed gratitude for the congratulations sent them in connection with their taking up these posts. Personally and on behalf of the people of Lebanon they made a high assessment of the Soviet Union's stand on the question of settling the Lebanese crisis and conveyed wishes for further progress and prosperity to the friendly Soviet people.

Presidium Greets UAE Leader on National Day

PM1412092789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
9 Dec 89 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has sent a congratulatory telegram to Zayid ibn-Sultan Al Nuhayyan, president of the United Arab Emirates, on the occasion of the national day—the 18th anniversary of the state's formation. The telegram conveyed cordial congratulations and good wishes for success and happiness to the president and people of the United Arab Emirates, as well as expressing the hope that the friendly relations between the two countries will continue to develop successfully in the interests of strengthening world peace.

In a reply telegram addressed to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium the president of the United Arab Emirates expressed appreciation and sincere gratitude for the congratulations and wished the friendly Soviet people further progress and prosperity.

East Europe

Gremitskikh: No Comment on Soviets' Leipzig Role

LD1412094989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0915 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—In response to a telephone inquiry from ADN concerning the role of Soviet officers during the events in Leipzig on 9 October, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy in the Main Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said it was not possible for him to comment on these statements by Willy Brandt, or even to confirm them.

He did not know that the Soviet troops were supposed to have intervened in the 9 October GDR events in any way.

SED's Gysi Urges Cooperation, Not Reunification

PM1412111989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Press Conference in Berlin"]

[Text] Berlin, 13 Dec—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] advocates the preservation of the GDR as a sovereign state. This is the only way to ensure stability in Europe at present, SED Chairman G. Gysi declared at a press conference held here Tuesday evening. Any changes of existing borders even in a single place, he emphasized, would inevitably result in debates—and not only debates—on further border revision. We Germans have no right to be the first to raise this issue. Peace has been maintained in Europe for more than 40 years precisely because the borders established as a result of World War II have been respected.

We intend to follow the path of democratic socialism, and this is possible only provided the GDR is preserved as a sovereign socialist state.

At the same time, the party chairman went on, we do not reject cooperation with the FRG and West Berlin. We are interested in seeing this cooperation benefit everyone. We intend to assist the development of contacts in the sphere of the economy, science, and culture and to promote closer contacts between people. But it would be a mistake to strive for the creation of a new state.

G. Gysi emphasized that the GDR evidently could borrow certain aspects of Soviet perestroyka. This, he remarked, applies primarily to the revolutionary enthusiasm which has captivated society, the atmosphere of openness and glasnost in which transformations are implemented in the USSR. On the other hand, he emphasized, conditions in our countries are different and this cannot be overlooked.

The SED chairman said that one of the main questions due to be examined at the second stage of work by the extraordinary party congress will be the adoption of a party program and party statutes, and the party will also change its name. This conforms with the will of the overwhelming majority of delegates, and it also means that the party desires a radical renewal.

G. Gysi emphasized that, in his opinion, the question of a possible split no longer exists today. A split was successfully prevented at the first stage of the congress, and so was dissolution of the SED. However, this does not rule out that some party members might disagree with the new program. They might possibly leave the party, but this is a normal development of events, a normal principle.

Draft SED Program Outlines Planned Reforms

PM1312125989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Dec 89 Single Edition p 3

[TASS report under the rubric "Stop the Presses" and the general heading "How To Live in the Future?": "GDR"]

[Text] The draft program elaborated by delegates to the extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Congress, which set out the party's strategic and tactical tasks, has been published in Berlin.

State administrative socialism has also collapsed once and for all in our country as a social system. The people's revolutionary movement of fall 1989 set off the process of its democratic elimination, the draft said.

A new era has begun. It centers on the resolution of global problems. This requires the radical transformation of all social systems and the international mechanism of their interaction. Continued progress is linked with democratic socialism.

The crisis in the GDR can only be overcome if the country rallies all democratic forces and proceeds along a path of social development that has nothing in common with either administrative socialism or the supremacy of capital. Proceeding along this path, it is necessary to preserve and develop existing social and cultural achievements in a democratic society with a socialist orientation, borrow progressive achievements of modern bourgeois society, and create conditions for true democracy to triumph, which would take everyone's interests into consideration.

The draft set out avenues of political and economic reform and for the GDR's integration into the world community. The GDR is willing and able to make a more active contribution to the resolution of global problems.

Alliance with the USSR is a foreign policy guarantee of the existence of a sovereign GDR. With Soviet perestroyka and the beginning of democratic socialist building in the GDR, quite new opportunities are opening up in relations between the two countries for the deepening of equal and mutually beneficial cooperation. The close intertwining of economic interests, all-embracing political cooperation, and intensive cultural and humanitarian relations with the Soviet Union are of vital importance for the GDR, the document stressed. It also sets out concrete proposals regarding the SED's transformation into a modern socialist party.

Modrow Speech on Economic Reform, Baker Meeting

PM1312191989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 8

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Lapskiy: "GDR: What Path the Reform Will Take"]

[Text] Berlin—GDR Finance Minister Uta Nickel has announced that this year the state budget deficit will rise to 19 billion marks. It has been decided to cut expenditure on defense and the National Security Service and on delegations and other purposes.

A working group has been set up under the Council of Ministers to devise the economic reform. What direction will it take and what will be its stages? Its outline was described by government head Hans Modrow in a speech at a meeting with the leaders of industry.

First he assessed the current situation. In recent years the pace of economic development has dropped in the GDR. Annual and 5-year plans for very important indicators have not been fulfilled since the mid-seventies. There have been covert or overt hikes in prices of consumer goods and services. The black economy has flourished and a black market in scarce goods has developed. It has not been possible to stabilize the GDR mark and its purchasing power has declined. In recent years the population has accumulated M10-12 billion, there being no goods and services to spend them on. The foreign debt has increased inexorably.

However, acording to H. Modrow, the republic possesses the reserves and potential for accelerated development in reform conditions. He noted the high level of working people's skills, the expanding foreign trade, primarily with the Soviet Union, the special relationship with the FRG, the wealth of experience of developing cooperatives and the private sector in the country, and the reduction of defense expenditure.

The reform will involve several stages and will start without delay. The first stage—approximately through 1992—is the stabilization of the economy. In the second stage enterprises will switch to full economic accountability and will be able as independent producers to enter the market in conditions of growing international division of labor.

We must end up, H. Modrow said, with an economy in which working people really feel that they are the owners of public property and are interested in the development of their enterprises. Why shouldn't they become owners of enterprises, for instance? The GDR economy must become truly democratic. It must be efficient from the economic viewpoint and thereby create the prerequisites for meeting working people's requirements in conditions of social confidence.

The major events of the day here were Socialist Unity Party of Germany Chairman Gregor Gysi's first international press conference and Hans Modrow's meeting in Potsdam with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker. Asked about German unification, G. Gysi said: We want independence and sovereignty for the GDR. This is extremely important for us and it is in the interests of stability in Europe.

It is reported that H. Modrow's meeting with J. Baker lasted an hour and was held in an unconstrained atmosphere. The secretary of state said that the United States wants to see the peaceful and stable development of the process of social reforms in the GDR. Washington broadly supports this democratic development.

Modrow Talks With Mayor of W. Berlin Reported

PM1412112989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading: "Situation in the GDR"]

[Text] The GDR capital and West Berlin must become a center of new impetus in the development of East-West cooperation at the center of Europe. This was stated by H. Modrow, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and W. Momper, governing mayor of West Berlin. It was emphasized in the course of their talks in Berlin that specific manifestations of the all-European process in the sphere of strengthening security and cooperation in Europe must find their place in this sphere, too.

Both sides advocated West Berlin's inclusion in the "contractual community" for cooperation in the spheres of the economy, science, transportation, environmental protection, culture, health care, sport, and tourism. They emphasized the need to prevent passenger traffic between the GDR and West Berlin from being used for purposes that cause economic harm.

Security Apparatus Prevents Neo-Nazism in GDR

PM1312144089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent V. Lapskiy report: "Against the Threat From the Right"]

[Text] Berlin—The debate in the Berlin arts workers' club began gradually, but quite soon emotion flared up in the packed hall. The topic was: "The Threat From the Right: Against Neofascism, Racism, and Hostility to Foreigners." I admit I never expected to attend a debate with that title in the GDR.

First the discussion concerned the foreigners working in the GDR: 50,000 Poles, 60,000 Vietnamese, Cubans, Angolans, and many others. Because of the unfavorable demographic situation, there is not enough manpower in the country. This problem was dramatically exacerbated as a result of the resettlement of hundreds of thousands of GDR citizens in West Germany. Do people in the GDR always show comradely, international feelings toward foreigners, as the official propaganda was insisting only 2 months ago? Do the "foreign guests" who help the republic resolve national economic tasks and often carry out—to put it mildly—low prestige work, feel comfortable?

Alas, by no means always. So said the speakers, citing instances of an arrogant, uncomradely attitude toward foreigners. This was manifested particularly clearly after the adoption of tough measures against speculation, which did not by any means only affect speculators. The situation has now improved, but an unpleasant aftertaste remains.

Passions began to seethe in the auditorium when the talk turned to neo-Nazis. There were antifascist fighters, scientists, priests, teachers, students, and schoolchildren present. The question was asked: How could the browns raise their heads in the GDR? In the last 2 years there have been dozens of trials, and 60 people, mainly young people, have been jailed on charges of desecrating cemeteries and beating up and insulting Jews and foreigners. Now that the FRG border is open, they are raising their voices ever more loudly, meeting with like-minded people in the West, and demanding the "reunification of Germany" more insistently than anyone.

I admit that for all my distrust in the neofascists' customary bragging, I felt disturbed when I heard about that. The newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reported from Gera that the neo-Nazis are feeling increasingly confident in that city. In this connection the newspaper raised the question: In the event of the disbanding of the national security department, who in the GDR will conduct an organized struggle against the new browns? This is no idle question...

CSSR's Calfa Interviewed on Situation

LD1312211689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview in Prague with Czechoslovak Government Premier Marian Calfa by correspondent Sergey Andreyev; date not given—recorded; interview conducted in Czech with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] [Andreyev] I would like first to ask you a question which might surprise you. There is so much going on at the moment, so many very important things; a state of tension can be felt in society. I would like to ask you: How do you see the Czechoslovakia of the future? One might put it like this: What is your dream for Czechoslovakia?

[Calfa] I have a very specific picture of the future. I would like very much for everyone to live together—peoples and nationalities—so that they are happy, so that there is well-being, so that democratic principles reign, so that people have the chance to express their opinions, and so that society respects this opinion.

[Andreyev] That's why this view of yours is very topical. You believe that a person can now express his opinion, even if this opinion is against the Civic Forum.

[Calfa] The present situation is a reaction to the many years of a definite suppression of views, to the many years of conducting an official opinion as the only opinion, and a reaction to the punishment in different forms of people who did not share this opinion. That's why that sharp reaction, when this mechanism of suppression ceased to operate, is understandable.

I think that all this is in accord with the law—after the act comes reaction. But I hope that this will pass and we shall return to our truly deep-lying democratic traditions, to an interplay of political forces, within the framework of certain establishments and of certain forms which operate in every civilized state.

Appointment of New Slovak Premier Reported

PM1312144189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Government Formed"]

[Text] Bratislava, 12 Dec—A new government, headed by Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] member Milan Cic, has been sworn in in Slovakia today. The new government comprises six Communists and nine nonparty people whose candidacies were backed by the association "Public Against Violence."

The head of the government, Academician Milan Cic, was expelled from the Communist Party after the events of 1968. Later he was reinstated in the CPCZ. In the previous government he held the post of minister of justice.

Three government posts remain temporarily vacant. Two of them will be filled by representatives of the Democratic and the Freedom Parties. The third is the key post of minister of the interior. It is being tempararily headed by a group of three people, with the government premier at their head.

The tension of the past few weeks has been appreciably defused as a result of the formation of the new government.

TASS Notes Czechoslovak Debate on Presidency

LD1312140989 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Prague December 13 TASS—By TASS correspondent Boris Bazhanov:

The political struggle that subsided after the formation of the government of national accord, has been concentrating on the election of the Czechoslovak president over the past few days.

Having nominated Vaclav Havel as its candidate, the Civic Forum insists that the Federal Assembly should elect president. The Forum is using all forms of the mass media to publicise its candidate.

Communists advocate another stand. Judging by the decisions of several party conferences held on December 9 and 10, the Communist Party will nominate Ladislav Adamec.

Although communists enjoy a majority in the Federal Assembly, they believe that the president should be elected by all of Czechoslovak society, Vasil Mohorita, secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee, told a news conference on Tuesday.

Prague communists were even more specific. The Prague City Committee of the Party said that only a president elected by the people can enjoy the trust of the nation.

A similar position is advocated by the Czechoslovak Socialist Union of Youth. A nationwide meeting of regional, district and city committees of the union, held on Tuesday, adopted a resolution demanding that multicandidate elections should be held to elect president. The Union will evidently nomitate Cestmir Cisar as its candidate for the presidency.

The Slovak National Council (parliament) nominated Alexander Dubcek.

The procedure to elect a president was one of the focal items at a joint sitting of the Federal Assembly's two chambers on Tuesday. Communist deputies insisted on nationwide voting, while representatives of other parties pointed to the unusual nature of such elections and the difficulty of holding them.

They proposed that, before the presidential elections, the composition of the Federal Assembly should be made to conform to the present alignment of political forces in the country.

The debate lasted late into Tuesday night and is continuing today. Deputies have not achieved a consensus on this issue.

Contenders for CSSR Presidency Described

PM1412111189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Dec 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report under general rubric "In the Socialist Countries": "Before a Presidential Election"]

[Text] Prague, 13 Dec—Although outwardly calmer after the formation of the government of national understanding, the political struggle has essentially not subsided and is currently centering on the election of the CSSR president. "Civic Forum," which has nominated V. Havel as its candidate, is insisting that the president should be elected by the Federal Assembly.

The Communists have a different stance. Judging by the decisions of a number of party conferences held 9 and 10 December, the Czechoslovak Communist Party candidate will be L. Adamec. Although the Communists have a majority in the present Federal Assembly, they believe, nonetheless, that the president should be elected with the participation of all the forces of the Czechoslovak society.

The Czechoslovak Socialist Youth Union adheres to a similar position. It seems that the candidate of Czechoslovak youth will be C. Cisar.

Another presidential candidate—A. Dubcek—has been put up by the Slovak National Council (parliament).

Bilak Accused of Abuses; Little Support for CPCZ

PM1312193189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 8

[Dispatch by own correspondent L. Kornilov: "CSSR: Parliament in Session"]

[Text] Prague—The CSSR Federal Assembly session continues. It was preceded in the morning of 12 December by the work of committees and separate sittings of the chambers at which Josef Bartoncik, leader of the Czechoslovak People's Party, and Communist Anton Blazej were elected their chairmen.

The items on the session agenda were election of the Federal Assembly chairman and his deputies; discussion of the report by the commission to investigate the actions of the forces of law and order on 17 November; and adoption of resolutions on the events of August 1968. Stanislav Kukral, 54, a Czech, nonparty person, and chief of the marketing department at a plant in South Bohemia, was elected CSSR Federal Assembly chairman. Josef Stank, Anton Blazej, and Jan Pampuch were elected first deputy chairmen. The Federal Assembly adopted a statement on the events of August 1968. It points out that the "military intervention by the five Warsaw Pact states made a political solution of the situation in Czechoslovakia impossible" and led to the failure of the reforms in the republic, which were supported by the whole people.

A new republican government has been formed and has started work in Slovakia. It is headed by academic lawyer Milan Cic. The Slovak National Council has officially nominated Alexander Dubcek, former first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, who was expelled from the party for being leader of the "Prague Spring" and who is now a pensioner, as CSSR presidential candidate. The Slovak Communists' paper PRAVDA has published an item accusing former CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Member V. Bilak of abuses and machinations, particularly in connection with the purchase of a villa for himself. The republic's prosecutor announced that he will check this information.

There has been a marked change in public opinion in the past week. Here are some poll results: the degree of popularity of "Civic Forum" is calculated at 78% and that of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party at 47%. Only 16% of the people questioned pin their hopes on the CPCZ. The biggest personal votes of confidence went to V. Komarek—22%—and V. Havel—18%. However, 11% of those questioned "least trust" the latter.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, taking into account the opinions expressed at regional party conferences, decided not to convene the Central Committee plenum planned for 14 December in the time remaining before the party congress.

Soviet Government Greets New CSSR Premier

PM1312120289 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 3

[USSR Council of Ministers message: "To Comrade Marian Calfa, Chairman of the CSSR Government"]

[Text] Please accept sincere congratulations on your appointment as chairman of the CSSR Government.

We are confident that the relations of fraternal friendship, allied collaboration, and all-around cooperation that exist between the USSR and the CSSR will undergo further fruitful development and will promote in every way the renewal of socialism in our countries and the strengthening of peace and international security.

We wish you success in your activity in this responsible post.

[Signed] The USSR Council of Ministers

Polish Prime Minister Views Moscow Visit

90UI0183A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 2 Dec 89 p 6

[Article by Irina Pirogova: "Personality Under a Good Sign"]

[Excerpts] Tadeusz Mazowiecki in Moscow. For the first time. Were his expectations justified? Is there something besides political interests that would attract him to our country?

"I know the great Russian culture and literature and I am interested in this area, although I am undoubtedly less informed about it than my friend Andrzej Dravicz (chairman of the State Committee for Radio and Television Affairs, about whom SOVETSKAYA KULTURA wrote on 25 November of this year).

"My impressions of Moscow are very positive. I like it here even more than I had expected. My meetings here were out of the ordinary, because I arrived as a representative of a government that is based on new principles. We found a common language with our interlocutors, and we understood one another that my country is trying to strengthen and develop Polish-Soviet relations not in a random way, considering them fundamentally important for our policy. Our negotiations were conducted in an atmosphere of sincerity, goodwill, and efficiency. The meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, who showed a deep understanding of our problems, had a special climate. We welcome the fact that the role of public opinion is expanding and becoming stronger in the USSR, and so I am happy to have the opportunity to meet with leaders in culture and science from Moscow and Leningrad; this is also an illustration of those great changes that have occurred in the country."

The foreign journalists who assembled last Saturday evening at a press conference by the head of the Polish state, of course, were very interested in the point of view of Tadeusz Mazowiecki on the allied obligations of Poland with respect to the Warsaw Pact. The answer was extremely clear:

"The Warsaw Pact and these bilateral relations between Poland and the Soviet Union have their own significance. We give and will continue to give great weight to them, no less than was done by the previous government. And at the same time we hope to develop a broader social foundation for these relations. It is my conviction that the placement of state forces in the state, and not party forces, is important. The way the state gauges these relations has a fundamental meaning today for the relations of Poland and the USSR."

Undoubtedly, many continue to be troubled by the question of the political predilections of a person who tied his fate to "Solidarity" from its very birth in 1980 and who is a member of the civic committee under the chairman of this trade union and the editor in chief of the weekly SOLIDARNOSC, which was shut down in 1981 and reactivated starting this year.

"Am I a 'purely nonparty person' or the representative of some kind of a political trend? Of course, I am associated with 'Solidarity', both with the political and social movement. But I want to be the prime minister of the government of all of the Poles, of course, preserving my own 'coloration' and my own originality," Tadeusz Mazowiecki emphasized.

The meeting held in the PPR [Polish People's Republic] Embassy in the USSR, which was opened by Comrade Stanislaw Czosek, PPR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in the Soviet Union, was a manifestation of his sincere concern about the fate of all Poles of Soviet ancestry. Assembled here were representatives of Polish cultural societies of the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltics, Kazakhstan, Moscow, Leningrad, and Irkutsk. Among them were people of different professions and generations, party members and nonparty members, and USSR people's deputies. After expressing his gratitude for the fact that they were able to preserve the tradition of the Polish language and culture, and that they are striving to broaden and strengthen them, the prime minister emphasized:

"The revival of the Polish cultural movement in the Soviet Union is part of the Soviet social movement and of the important changes that are taking place in the USSR. And I hope that Poles will not only be observers but active participants as well.

"I also hope," he continued, "that close contacts will be developed soon between us and Soviet Poles. This is promoted by our joint principles of private and public initiative. The activity of such contacts will be met by the assistance and support of the Polish Government. These important problems were an important element in my talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Nikolay Ryzhkov, the chairman of the Council of Ministers. To resolve them, it is necessary to adjust many complicated questions. We must at this time be concerned that nothing is lost from the existing achievements and that we clear the way for the future. Soviet Poles can play an essential role as a natural bridge between Poland, the USSR, and other peoples. However, this requires mutual understanding, respect, and continuous economic and spiritual cooperation. This kind of practice can enrich all the nations of Europe. Therefore, we are trying to create favorable conditions for those minority nationalities that live in Poland—Ukrainians, Belorussians, Lithuanians.... The attitude toward national minorities is the criterion of the maturity of a society."

It will be of interest to the reader to know that Tadeusz Mazowiecki is the author of the books "Rasputya i tsennosti" [Parting of the Ways and Values], "Vozvrashsheniye k samym prostym voprosam" [Return to the Basic Questions Themselves], "Internirovaniye" [Internment], and others. He is a member of the "PEN Club," a laureate of the Prize imeni Andrzeja Struga, the father of three sons, and the grandfather of four grandsons.

But how is one to understand how personal qualities led him to the helm of state power and ensured him and his government a broad coalition of trust of the people, which is not experiencing vacillation despite the current difficult economic situation in the country? Our personal meeting with the prime minister was too fleeting to provide a real answer to this question. But...a reflected light is also a light that reaches one. [Passage omitted] [End of Pirogova article]

Traits for a Political Portrait

Tadeusz Mazowiecki... Special attention is riveted on this figure on the world's political chessboard. There was a distinct shock for many at the moment when the Government of People's Poland came to be headed by a person who did not belong to any one of the parties and who was not on any rung of the higher apparatus of power, a Catholic and an active figure in "Solidarity" who more than once paid greatly for his dissidence, but who never disavowed his convictions.

The shocked condition passed especially quickly owing to our getting rid of stereotypes of the old thinking and habits not yet acquired by us, but which not so long ago seemed so much a part of the order of things.

To the credit of the new Government of Poland, it should be said that it also is trying to avoid possible prejudices and to judge the Soviet Union not from the position, as they say, of "missing the forest for the trees." To a great degree this was promoted by the working visit to the PPR by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, the minister of foreign affairs, at the end of October of this year.

The visit of the head of Soviet diplomacy comes at a special moment in the history of our countries. Disputes have arisen in the USSR about the directions and tempos of further reorganizations, disputes between the republics and the center, between the intelligentsia and the apparatus, and between the official system and informal groups. In a word: The country from which Eduard Shevardnadze comes is a different country. The Poles are not taking this into proper account.

Our country is busy with itself, and it has sufficient reasons for this. The drama of the economic situation requires of the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki consistency in actions and the kind of policy that will combine in itself imagination with delicate detail. Political parties are starting to be formed, and radical changes in social life are taking place before our eyes. The success of the policy of reform requires of the Poles a union of all reformist forces both of "Solidarity" and the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party], and people like Wojciech Jaruzelski and First Secretary of the Central Committee Mieczyslav Rakowski can play a significant role. Thus, the country to which Minister Shevardnadze came is also "a different country," wrote Adam Michnik in the GAZETA WYBORCZA ("Solidarity" news organ, 25 October), when he emphasized that "all of the recent months of Polish-Soviet relations developed so quickly that it even forced foreign observers to think.... It would be appropriate here to emphasize the coming of age of the new Soviet policy with respect to Poland...."

Eduard Shevardnadze conveyed to Tadeusz Mazowiecki an invitation by the Soviet Government to make an official visit to Moscow, and it was accepted with gratitude. The importance the head of the Polish Government attached to this trip is evident in the words he spoke several days earlier at a press conference for Italian and foreign journalists held in the Roman Hotel Excelsior during the prime minister's working visit to the Vatican: "I believe that an important moment has arrived in Polish-Soviet relations the likes of which have not existed for a long time, and specifically the kind where a real social foundation can be placed under the concept of union and cooperation."

These words were a logical continuation of one of the theses the prime minister expressed in his declaration at a meeting of the PPR Sejm on 12 September:

"My government wants to build allied relationships with the Soviet Union on the basis of equal rights, respect, and sovereignty. A strong foundation will be placed under our union if it is ratified by society. Favorable conditions are now present for this."

Defacing of Monuments in Poland Decried

PM1312123989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Starukhin dispatch in response to reader's letter: "Who Needs This?"; first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] Monuments to F. Dzerzhinskiy and the founder of the Soviet state V.I. Lenin have been desecrated in Poland. The defiling of shrines and monuments dear to the Soviet people's hearts touches the honor and dignity of our country. It is insulting to us. These acts bear witness to utterly barbarous morals and a perceptible decline in culture and basic decency among a certain section of the Polish population, particularly young people.

[Signed] Doctor of Historical Sciences A.P. Markov, war, party, and labor veteran, Moscow.

Warsaw, 10 Dec—Another hotbed: Krakow, the Nowa Huta workers' district, Roze Avenue, the V.I. Lenin monument. Acts of hooliganism that are anti-Soviet and quite simply blasphemous are being methodically repeated here. The "ralliers," who gather in the hundreds, make attempts to attack the monument... Tins of paint fly toward the monument, railings are removed, books are burnt on bonfires...

The official authorities, in their embarrassment, have often apologized for these occurrences, explaining them as actions committed by "immature young people" and "hooligan elements" who do not reflect the opinion of the majority of Poles and present no particular danger. It is possible that this is true to a certain extent, if you take into account the real opinion of the majority of sensible people.

In Katowice, Krakow's neighbor, so to speak, city council deputies—who, of course, are not young people—are voting to change the names of F. Dzerzhinskiy and R. Luxemburg Streets and October Revolution Avenue. The future names were decided in advance. Quite recently a monument to F. Dzerzhinskiy was taken down in the center of Warsaw, on Marszalkowska Street. Before this was done, it was implied that the city president had decided to take down the monument only temporarily, in connection with the construction of a subway station in that particular place. This convenient statement only stood up for a few hours.... And there followed a "diagram" showing how to take down and dismantle the sculpture. No, this was not printed in a proclamation made by some "elements" or other, or in a vociferous appeal by "young people," but on the front page of GAZETA WYBORCZA.

But to return to the V.I. Lenin monument. It is the streets of Krakow, famous as a city of high spiritual culture, that recall Vladimir Ilich. Lenin spent a lot of time in Poland. The museums have preserved Poles' recollections and numerous eyewitness testimonies about that memorable time.

It seems that representatives of the older generation of Poles could tell their grandchildren and great-grandchildren a great deal. They could perhaps communicate the most important thing to them: that those who desecrate the monuments today deeply insult not just the dignity of Soviet people, but primarily the national conscience of their own forefathers and their people. This would seem to be uncharacteristic of Poles.

Veterans Appeal for Curbing of Polish 'Vandals'

PM1412085989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Dec 89 First Edition p 4

[Letter from Soviet war veterans to Polish war veterans: "Do Not Allow the Friendship To Be Destroyed"]

[Text] To those who participated in the struggle against the German Fascist aggressors, veterans of the Polish Army and Polish partisan movement.

Comrades-in-arms,

We Soviet Army veterans and former Soviet partisans, who participated in the liberation of Poland from the German fascist aggressors and fought alongside you against the common enemy for our freedom and yours, were sad to learn that irresponsible elements hostile to our friendship have recently launched a rabid anti-Soviet campaign in Poland. They are inciting young people, who never knew the horrors of the war against fascism, to carry out acts of hooliganism and extremism and desecrate the graves of Soviet soldiers who died for the liberation of your homeland. As you know, over 600,000 Soviet soldiers, your comrades-in-arms, died in battles against our common enemy. Their memory is dear to Soviet people and to all our friends and it is painful to see that the anti-Soviet actions of the late 20th Century vandals are not being given a proper rebuff by the veterans.

Recently we heard of actions hostile to our people in Krakow—attempts to destroy the monument to the founder of the Soviet state, V.I. Lenin, a man who witnessed the beginning of the establishment of an independent Poland and did a great deal for the attainment of that goal.

Dear friends and comrades,

Common military service in the grim war years brought us together. Together we attacked the enemy, recovered from wounds in common field hospitals, shared our meager soldiers' rations, and saw the ruins of our villages and cities, old people, women, and children killed and tortured by the fascists, and the furnaces of Maidanek and Auschwitz. And we are entitled to hope that you will raise your voices against attempts by the enemies of Poland and the Soviet Union to destroy our front friendship and will not allow hostile forces to raise your children and grandchildren in the spirit of savage nationalism and hostility toward Russia and everything Soviet.

We have faith in the permanence of our friendship and are confident that you will duly rebuff the intrigues of hostile forces attempting to wreck this friendship.

[Signed] N. Kravets, B. Antonov, P. Grabovskiy, A. Demin, A. Trubetskiy, K. Bondarenko, A. Pavlova, N. Kormakova, V. Nikolskiy, V. Yurkevich, Ye. Dudorova, I. Kolos, L. Kalinichenko, N. Lukashev, V. Magnitskaya, I. Potapenko, N. Semenova, B. Moroz, E. Saulevich, P. Brayko, N. Kolosov, V. Vershinin, and others. In all, 73 signatures.

BCP Plenum Hits Zhivkov's 'Personal Regime'

PM1312145589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Zhmyrev dispatch: "BCP Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Sofia, 12 Dec—An enlarged Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Plenum opened yesterday in the Bulgarian capital. Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, delivered the Politburo report "On the State of the Country and the Party and the Immediate Tasks."

The causes of the serious crisis and mounting social tensions are the persisting Stalinist administrative edict system, the monopoly of power, and the virtually total control by the bureaucratic elite over production and distribution, he said.

While noting that any attempt to underestimate Bulgaria's achievements over the past decade would be at variance with historical truth, the speaker at the same time stressed that the country has entered a serious crisis in recent years. He pointed to the profound deformations in society and the management system, the stagnation of economic development, the threatening lag in the structural and technological renewal of the economy—the result of blatant mistakes in investment policy—the menacing growth of the foreign debt, rising inflation, difficulties in the domestic market, deterioration of living standards, rampant corruption, the damage caused by the [personality] cult in spiritual and intellectual life, and the decline of basic moral values. What must be added to this is the fact that Todor Zhivkov's personal regime assumed monstrous dimensions. The report noted that as a result of the cited phenomena and tendencies, society's trust in the BCP has seriously diminished.

The report describes the situation prevailing within the state and social system as "resembling feudal management." It notes that power was usurped by a small group of people headed by Todor Zhivkov. Power became based on family and home-town connections and attracted power-hungry people and careerists.

The speaker dwelt in detail on questions of perestroyka in the party. Renewal in Bulgaria is inconceivable without a renewal of the BCP, he stressed.

So far an authoritarian style and methods, exaggerated centralism, unscrupulousness, and a psychosis of fear have dominated party life. Party members felt mistrust of leading organs and a number of party leaders personally. The trust of broad social strata of the people in the party itself was also undermined, the general secretary of the BCP Central Committee noted.

The party must participate in state management, but do so via a rule-of-law parliamentary regime. Its policy will be implemented via Communists elected to the parliament, the government, and other state institutions. This will not detract from the role of the BCP; on the contrary, it will objectively and truly enhance it.

Never again must a leadership post, still less that of general secretary, be used to satisfy power ambitions and other self-seeking aims, P. Mladenov declared. He proposed on behalf of the Politburo that [a maximum of] two terms of office in leadership work in the BCP be introduced. We beg to clarify that this rule enters into force as from today, 11 December 1989, and that the first term of office of the present leadership expires at the upcoming congress, he said.

The speaker then dwelt on the state of the Bulgarian economy, describing it as "on the verge of infarction." The rate of economic growth has sharply declined and certain acute disproportions are deepening.

The state's net debt in convertible currency totals almost $8 billion, which is regarded as a critical limit.

Decisions on all questions in the economic sphere in recent years were adopted personally by T. Zhivkov, frequently on the basis of whim. The report points out the great personal responsibility of Grisha Filipov, Ognyan Doynov, Stoyan Ovcharov, and Petko Danchev.

The report proposes urgent measures, to be applied in 1990, to overcome the economic crisis.

Today the whole country, Communists, and nonparty people are deeply aware that salvation lies in dismantling the administrative edict system and creating a democratic, socialist, rule-of-law state, the speaker went on.

The speech notes the fundamental importance for Bulgaria of the profound transformations being implemented in the socialist countries, primarily in the Soviet Union, and of the collaboration between the two parties and states in the sphere of perestroyka. We are sincerely convinced that the friendship between the Bulgarian and Soviet peoples needs no window-dressing or varnish and that our relations must be frank and businesslike. Our delegation's recent visit to the USSR and our meetings and talks with M.S. Gorbachev have confirmed our conviction, the speaker said.

In conclusion, it is stated that Bulgaria's foreign policy will be fully open toward the world and toward universal human problems and quests.

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee Poliburo, the proposal to convene an extraordinary BCP Congress on 26 March 1990 was submitted for consideration by the plenum.

The plenum continues today.

Veteran's Charges Against Todor Zhivkov Cited

*PM1412110589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Dec 89 Second Edition p 6*

[Own correspondent L. Zhmyrev dispatch: "Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. T. Zhivkov Expelled from the Party"]

[Text] Sofia, 13 Dec—On the third and final day of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee plenum's work, the attention of plenum participants focused on a letter written to the plenum by BCP veteran Tsola Dragoycheva. This famous heroine of the antifascist movement (now in her 90th year), who was a member of the Politburo until 1984, was unable to take part in the plenum's work for health reasons.

Our party has finally rid itself of a whole group of casual people, careerists, and power seekers who formed Todor Zhivkov's immediate entourage and helped to a considerable extent to establish his personal dictatorship in the party, the letter says. I took part in the Politburo's work for 20 years and was in a position to observe at first hand the ugly manifestations of authoritarianism, the deformations of natural criteria and yardsticks for the appraisal of people and things, the trampling of the

Leninist principles of leadership. I will be revealing no secrets by saying that the Politburo, intended by the statutes to be the party's supreme collective mind, was transformed by T. Zhivkov into an umbrella for his absolute power.

Ts. Dragoycheva accused T. Zhivkov of falsifying party history for the purpose of retroactively rewriting his own life story as "hero" of the antifascist struggle. The letter writer recalls instances when leading figures were dismissed from the Politburo and the BCP Central Committee for resisting T. Zhivkov's voluntarist decisions. Two Politburo members—Dobri Dzhurov and Petur Mladenov—engaged in a major conflict with T. Zhivkov recently.

The party veteran puts forward a proposal to create an effective mechanism to permanently monitor the power of leadership organs, including the general secretary of the Central Committee, and warns that bold and appropriate political measures anticipating the people's legitimate demands are needed to restore the party's vanguard political role.

The speech by Aleksandur Lilov, recently reelected a member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, stood out in the ensuing plenum debate with its uncompromising analysis and summing up. The party's role as society's political vanguard, he declared, depends on its ability to find a way out of the crisis. The party must accept the criticism by the people.

As regards the party's attitude toward informal organizations, A. Lilov expressed confidence that a total rejection of independent organizations would be a major mistake. This is an ambiguous phenomenon. There are out-and-out extremists and people with reactionary leanings as well. The party's correct line would be a policy of constructive and proper dialogue with all forces struggling for perestroyka, glasnost, and the democratization of society. They can and must be our partners, and many of them should be our allies in society's renewal.

The plenum expelled T. Zhivkov, former general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, from the party "for serious breaches of basic party and moral principles, profound deformations in the party and society, and gross mistakes in the country's socioeconomic development which resulted in a political and economic crisis." M. Balev, former member of the Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, was also expelled from the party.

The plenum decided to convene an extraordinary BCP congress on 19 March of next year.

Bulgarian Army's Role in Changes Viewed

PM1412091189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Dec 89 Single Edition p 3

[Article by Major Vladi Vladkov, editor of the international information department of the editorial office of the Bulgarian newspaper NARODNA ARMIYA, under the general heading: "Difficult Pass. Guaranteeing the People's Interests"]

[Text] This year's cold November days warmed the hearts and souls of millions of Bulgarians. The 10 November Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Plenum relieved T. Zhivkov of his duties as party leader and elected P. Mladenov general secretary of the BCP Central Committee. But the essence of the subsequent changes does not amount just to a replacement of the cadres devoted to edict methods of leadership, who led the country to stagnation and blackened the honor of communists with improper deeds. The point is also—and this is probably more important—that the people's masses have been set in motion and are really involved in restructuring. The process of restoring people's faith in socialist ideals has begun.

Under these conditions our attention is naturally drawn to Bulgaria's former leaders. Todor Zhivkov knew how to make very good use of tested words out of the modern political lexicon. In recent years we have heard a lot about restructuring, democratization, and renewal. But when we sought specific deeds, we did not find them alongside us.

November 10 marked the start of a big turn in our movement. More accurately, the start of a big correction in the direction of a way out of the impasse, out of "real socialism" built on paper toward the highway of genuine socialism. After the BCP Central Committee plenum certain Western radio stations announced that there had been almost a military coup in Bulgaria. No, our Army was not involved in the change of leadership. But it supported the new leadership in the November events—a leadership whose chief aim is to turn the country into a modern, civilized, democratic rule-of-law state.

After the 17 November National Assembly session at which P. Mladenov was elected Bulgarian head of state, tens of thousands of residents of the capital waited for the people's representatives in the square. A rally came into being, at which they listened calmly to certain deputies. They made others leave the rostrum. Then they unanimously chanted: "Dzhurov! Dzhurov!" Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense, was brief: "I had my say at the BCP Central Committee plenums. What happened at the National Assembly session was my say, too."

It is the universal opinion that the Army's prestige has been strengthened during these days. And this is being helped by the specific actions of servicemen, who are directing their efforts toward uniting the progressive forces of society so as to emerge from stagnation and so that the country can occupy in the modern world the positions which it deserves... Using his right to a legislative initiative, Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, people's representative, first deputy minister of national defense, and chief of the Bulgarian People's Army General Staff, proposed at the National Assembly session setting up an organ in parliament to assess scientific and technological innovations.

On the other hand, the Armed Forces are also ceasing to be a "closed zone." The people are getting more information on them. Thus, Lieutenant General Radnyu Minchev, a National Defense Ministry spokesman, recently announced on Bulgarian television information on the wage rates of extended-service officers, sergeants, and master sergeants. The National Assembly is expected to create a permanent commission for questions of defense and internal affairs. This will give parliament and, through it, the people, too, an opportunity to fulfill control functions over important aspects of defense building and the maintenance of public order—functions provided for in the country's Constitution and legislation.

The mood of servicemen themselves is also changing. You feel this particularly in the letters which our newspaper's editorial office receives. They are characterized by sincerity, openness, and a critical approach. This is precisely what distinguishes the statements of hundreds of officers, master sergeants, and sergeants today.

Of course, the increased activeness of the masses is also bringing up to the surface extreme and, at times, extremist demands and statements. Thus, for example, voices can be heard speaking of a unilateral radical reduction—of 80 percent—in the Bulgarian People's Army and the elimination of political organs and party organizations among the troops. The present political moment hardly dictates the adoption of these demands.

The chief problem of the political moment is to ensure the country's accelerated development and to guarantee the realization of the people's interests. This can happen only as the result of a constructive dialogue and the uniting of all progressive forces which love Bulgaria and are concerned for its socialist future. The Bulgarian People's Army and its servicemen are fully resolved to ensure the motherland's security at this difficult hour for it.

RCP Approves of Gorbachev-Ceausescu Talks

PM1312143789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Sitting of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Political Executive Committee"]

[Text] Bucharest, 12 Dec—Mutual desire to continue the pursuit of expanding collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and the CPSU and between Romania and the Soviet Union both bilaterally and in international life was expressed during the meetings and talks between N. Ceausescu and M.S. Gorbachev, which were held in the spirit of the traditional Romanian-Soviet dialogue at summit level. This was said in an announcement on Monday's sitting of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee, which was briefed on the meeting of Warsaw Pact state leaders in Moscow and the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and N. Ceausescu that took place within its framework.

Ceausescu Backing for Communist Conference Noted

PM1412122589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] An enlarged Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee Plenum was held Tuesday under the chairmanship of RCP General Secretary N. Ceausescu. Members of the RCP Central Committee, the Permanent Bureau, and the section bureaus of the Romanian Supreme Council for Economic and Social Development participated in its work.

Addressing the plenum, N. Ceausescu pointed out that a good financial position has taken shape in the country following the paying off of foreign debts. Romania is to receive more than $2 billion and R1.4 billion on credits it has granted. These funds are the country's financial reserve and will be used for purposes of socioeconomic development.

N. Ceausescu pointed to the need to organize as soon as possible a top-level conference of socialist countries for a joint discussion of the problems connected with the development of socialist building in these countries. He confirmed Romania's determination to participate in organizing a conference of communist and workers parties.

Yugoslav Party Leader Sends Thanks for Greeting

PM1312145389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[Undated message from Yugoslav League of Communists Presidium Chairman M. Pancevski to CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] To the CPSU Central Committee

Dear Comrades,

We cordially thank you for the warm congratulations and best wishes conveyed to us on the occasion of Republic Day.

We are convinced that the relations and cooperation between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the CPSU will continue to successfully develop to the benefit of equal and all-around cooperation between our countries, friendship between our peoples, peace, and progress.

[Signed] Milan Pancevski, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium

West Europe

Shevardnadze To Sign Economic Pacts in Brussels

PM1312122189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Visit to Brussels"]

[Text] E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, will visit Belgium 18-19 December 1989. During his stay in Brussels, E.A. Shevardnadze will sign an agreement on trade and commercial-economic cooperation between the USSR and the European Communities (EEC and EURATOM) on behalf of the Soviet Government.

Shevardnadze Receives Message From France's Dumas

LD1312213389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1808 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 Dec (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze today received Jean-Marie Merillon, France's ambassador to the USSR. In continuance of the dialogue between the USSR and France on topical issues in modern politics, the ambassador conveyed a personal message from Roland Dumas, minister of state for foreign affairs, to the USSR minister of foreign affairs.

Transport Minister Receives Turkish Counterpart

TA0712195289 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1800 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Text] Transportation Minister Cengiz Tuncer, currently in Moscow following the inauguration of the Istanbul-Moscow line of Turkish Airlines, met with Vladimir Brezhnev, Soviet minister of transport construction.

During the meeting the Soviet minister said his country is interested in certain infrastructure projects in Turkey and wants to engage in projects especially in the electrification and modernization of the Turkish railroad system. Brezhnev declared that initially the USSR would like to undertake electrification of the railroad in the Thrace region.

Tuncer, in turn, noted that Turkish organizations and firms would also like to engage in new projects in the Soviet Union. Tuncer added that package agreements concerning the projects to be undertaken by the two countries should be signed to this end.

Deputy Premier Sitaryan Meets Finnish Minister

PM1312151189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text]. S.A. Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission, had a conversation on 12 December with I. Suominen, Finnish minister of trade and industry, who heads the Finnish delegation to the 43d annual meeting of the Finnish-Soviet Chamber of Commerce.

Trade With United Kingdom Viewed

PM1312140189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[Report by own correspondent T. Kolesnichenko: "Parade of Dilettantes"]

[Text] London—Aleksandr Chekhurskiy, a direct descendant of the Rayevskiy family on his mother's side, speaks Russian fluently. But right now he is clearly at a loss for words and he gesticulates vigorously, as though to help himself express his idea:

"I cannot understand. Please explain to me why your workers here spend 3-4 years acquiring an understanding of the art of stock exchange trading, but then, as soon as they begin to understand it, they are transferred to trade in unions or who knows what?"

Chekhurskiy himself has been in business for 20 years. He lives in London and the headquarters of his company, which trades in sugar, cocoa beans, coffee, and so forth, is in Paris, and he spends 3 days a week there.

"During these years," he continues, "I have learned something. But I shall not say I have learned everything, although I am sure I know more than those who have been in business for only a year. And on the stock exchange that is very important. Experienced dealers can always be tough on beginners. So, to be honest, I simply do not understand you."

And here is what S. Maslov, the USSR trade representative in London, thinks on this subject:

"The result of the reorganization of the foreign economic complex in our country has been the dismantling of the old and the birth of the new mechanism which, under the conditions of the all-around democratization of socioeconomic life, should ensure the solution of new tasks. The newborn child is so far taking only its first steps, acquiring many bumps in the process. It is obvious today that perestroyka of the foreign economic mechanism as a whole has increased the business activeness of individual organizations, enterprises, and cooperatives, and has aroused their interest in foreign economic activity. But this activeness is manifested today largely in foreign business trips. According to our calculations their number increased by at least 50 percent this year. The main thing here is that these trips often end in nothing: They do not lead to any practical results."

The trade representative is right. Indeed, the majority of trips by our "businessmen" to Britain most often end with the signing of a so-called "protocol on intentions."

Sometimes 40 people come here one after the other for a single project. But if only their "good intentions" were eventually materialized in real contracts! Alas, so far they have merely paved the way for trips to London and back. There are plenty of protocols on intentions, but there are no contracts—that is, there is no trade either.

It is perfectly clear that a new mechanism for foreign economic ties is needed now that would work primarily for the end result. Probably this is precisely what guided the "center," as they say here, the people who adopted the new provision on trade missions. But the comrades from the center should have heard how unanimously our specialists are criticizing it here. And indeed what is the worth of the formulas that have set everyone's teeth on edge such as "doing everything to assist Soviet organizations in their implementation of foreign economic ties," "safeguarding the state interests of the Soviet Union in the country of residence," and so on and so forth? Once again the idle talk which plagued us all so much in the recent past; again phrasemongering which commits us to nothing... But how can the trade mission "do everything to assist" Soviet organizations in London when just 13 people are working in it? Yet, after all, hundreds of representatives of various organizations come to Britain through them. And they all have to be accommodated in hotels, met, seen off, and so forth. There is not enough time even for that. Never mind "doing everything to assist!"

Under the conditions of the acute information famine in our country, the trade mission has been literally inundated with the flood of queries on various problems and there is no one to answer them.

Moreover, the trade mission often simply does not know who exactly is in London at a given moment through foreign trade organization channels and what they are doing here.

These are all imperfections, and annoying ones. But the main thing is that, as life shows, we have no considered concept for trade with Britain. As before, we create idols for ourselves in the form of figures. And most often for visits by leaders. And the higher the level of the visit, the more impressive the figures. Work is in full swing, documents are signed (most often the same old "protocols on intentions"), and accounts and reports go to Moscow. The visit has ended. Everything has gone well, thank god, and the same old projects start to be transferred to the next visit. And it happens that lack of professionalism combined with the desire to use visits that are being prepared in a light advantageous to ourselves causes us real harm. Sometimes we even announce our intention to buy large consignments of goods. The result? M. Babayev, "Soyuzkhimeksport" representative in London, believes that we have let slip approximately 10,000 tonnes of soap and about 25,000 tonnes of detergents which we could have bought here at normal prices if preliminary statements had not appeared in Moscow regarding forthcoming purchases of these goods abroad, including in Britain. The question arises: Does our right hand know what our left hand is doing?

Large-scale projects often remain on paper. You need only consider natural gas. It emerges occasionally in our projects as a basic export from the USSR to Britain. The plan includes what specialists consider to be utterly unfeasible figures which no one has seriously calculated.

On the other hand, projects are not being realized which could already benefit our national economy. Thus, 18 months ago the British were already raising the question of creating joint commissions on energy-saving technologies and on relevant deliveries to the USSR. In our country an enormous amount of heat is wasted because of the lack of these modern technologies. In Britain matters in this field are better arranged than in any other West European country. The British immediately created a practical group to elaborate joint projects and possibly to pass on experience to us. In our country, however, no such group was created for a long time. When it was eventually created there was an exchange of visits, and it turned out that it was very difficult to "rendezvous": They had practical experts, we had theorists. So far we were prepared to discuss this problem only at the Academy of Sciences level. How did it all end? With the British in effect disbanding their commission, and the matter went to seed.

As a result of the reform over 9,000 independent participants in foreign economic relations have now emerged onto the foreign market in our country. Hundreds of representatives of the countless new "foreign trade offices" created by sectorial ministries, republic councils of ministers, and cooperatives are now touring Britain alone. They are a real parade of dilettantes. They work at their own risk, most frequently harming not only each other but also the state. The general director of the "Russian forestry agency" joint-stock company cites the following example. Recently some of these "commercial travelers" signed a document whereby 600,000 cubic meters of our timber was being sold at a price 40 percent below the existing one!

Where is the way out, you ask?

I see the way out in one thing, a professional approach. And it requires that trade be conducted through agencies. For timber trading, for instance, there is the "Russian forestry agency": That is our monopoly agent on the market here. The fish trade has its own agent, household equipment has its own agent, and so forth. Without them, by operating in a dilettantish way, without a knowledge of the market situation, it is possible to end up in a whirlpool. Right now the local Anglo-Soviet steamship company must somehow save the "drowning" Kerch fish industry production association. Without knowing the market, without any recommendations, the Kerch people went to a British firm with nothing but enthusiasm to its name. And what will happen if the firm collapses, who will make good the possible losses?

Or another example of incompetence. V. Lapinin, leader of the TOYE [acronym as transliterated] joint company (after a description of his firm in PRAVDA he was deluged with letters and telephone calls) believes that a number of plants that have engaged in conversion are throwing their money away.

"Recently," he said, "I read an article in PRAVDA about the work of the 'Barrikada' plant. In implementing the conversion plan it had designed a washing machine with 37 programs. You ask: Who needs it? Our housewife uses four programs or a maximum of six programs. And on the foreign market (where 37 programs are also useless) this machine cannot be sold at all, as it does not conform to Western standards. So why create a new machine without studying the market; why waste millions?

Since we have started talking about conversion, I will tell a story which could be simply funny if it were not so sad.

The British bought from us scrap metal belonging to the Defense Ministry. We concluded a contract. We were on the point of receiving 5 million pounds sterling for the commodity. But so far the scrap metal is in uncut form; it has to be cut. Who will do it? It is unclear. But the main point lies elsewhere. The British are asking: What is the chemical composition of the steel? They are being told: It is a state secret of ours. All right, they say, we have bought this scrap metal, give us a sample of the metal and we will do laboratory studies to find out its composition. Sorry, but no, we reply, it is a secret. The British gesture in despair. After all, Pepsico has bought submarines for scrap metal and handed out pieces of destroyed missiles as souvenirs. Where is the secret? In addition the metal has already been virtually sold.

According to recent reports, the ice would seem to have cracked. Specialists here suspect that it is not even a case of the defense industry but of the metallurgical workers, who do not want scrap metal to go abroad.

Much can be seen in a different light from London than from Moscow. The examples cited above have mostly been taken from a shorthand report of just one conference in our embassy. They could be multiplied over and over. When will the parade of dilettantes come to an end?

Latin America & Caribbean

Shevardnadze, Cuban Envoy Discuss Economic Issues

LD1312193189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] [No dateline, as received] Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, received today Julio Camacho Aguilera, member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Politburo and Cuban ambassador to the USSR.

During the conversation there was discussion on pressing matters relating to the development of trade and economic links between the two countries. The need to give fresh impetus to Soviet-Cuban economic cooperation and to enhance its efficacy was emphasized.

There was also an exchange of views on a number of important international problems, including the situation in Central America.

The conversation took place in a friendly atmosphere, which is characteristic of Soviet-Cuban relations.

Congress of People's Deputies

Moscow TV Relays 13 Dec Congressional Session

1300 GMT

LD1312135689

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1300 GMT on 13 December begins broadcasting a recorded relay of the second day of the Second Congress of People's Deputies from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. Deputies are shown assemblying for the session; Mikhail Gorbachev says 1,980 deputies registered for the session at 1000. The session is declared open and the first item on the agenda is recognition of the authority of deputies elected since the first Congress.

At 1304 GMT Boris Gidaspov from the Credentials Commission takes the floor. He reads out his report, on changes that have taken place in the composition of the Congress from named constituencies for various reasons. A minute's silence is observed to honor the memory of a deputy who has died.

At 1307 GMT Gidaspov reads out results of elections in the named constituencies. Yakovlev and Nishanov are shown in the auditorium. Gidaspov says the commission urges recognition of deputies elected. There are a further six vacant seats, elections have been appointed. He proposes the recognition of deputies elected.

At 1312 GMT Ligachev is shown in auditorium; Gidaspov ends his address.

At 1313 GMT Shchedrin from the Union of Composers takes the floor. He says it is a contradiction that Gidaspov is delivering the report and at the same time has has organized a meeting in Leningrad aimed at hampering the process of perestroyka. He thinks, as a non-party man, that in a law-governed state such people should resign. Applause.

At 1315 GMT Gorbachev says the question has nothing to do with the report of the Credentials Commission. Gidaspov will reply anyway: he considers it inexpedient to reply to a question based on hearsay, and rejects the charge.

At 1316 GMT a draft resolution is put to the vote on report from the Credentials Commission. Gorbachev shown casting his vote. Gorbachev says the voting technology is now working. Result: decision adopted.

At 1319 GMT Ryzkhov takes the floor and begins giving his economic report.

1452 GMT

LD1312163489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1452 GMT on 13 December continues its recorded relay of the Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses.

At 1452 GMT Ryzhkov ends his report; Gorbachev takes a show of hands on whether to take questions on the report in written form—it is adopted. He then asks members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium to meet in the Presidium hall "urgently," and announces a 20-minute break in the congress session.

1510 GMT

LD1312164189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1510 GMT on 13 December resumes its recorded relay of the Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. Gorbachev introduces the first speaker, Genrikh Novozhilov.

At 1512 GMT Novozhilov talks about the problems stemming from violation of labor discipline at enterprises, with specific references to the aircraft equipment industry. He talks about social programs at such enterprises and calls for an intensification of responsibility for fulfilment of contractual obligations. He talks about conversion of the military industry, citing the experience of his own design bureau, regretting a number of local problems. He complains about the shortage of civilian aircraft and other issues.

At 1529 GMT the floor is offered to Ukrainian first secretary Ivashko, who praises the government programs submitted by Ryzhkov. Economic sovereignty for republics is a key element, but the Ukraine does not envisage its sovereignty outside the USSR. He calls for a new system of economically-based prices in various fields, including agriculture. He urges rapid development of a diversity of forms of ownership and rational use of resources. He criticizes the lag in scientific-technical development in recent years. Such work must be financed sensibly; the policy of profit at any price is wrong. He suggests tax exemptions for scientific development work. Ivashko criticizes the departmental approach in the economy. The government program should stimulate inter-departmental and joint enterprises. He cites Soviet grain imports as a waste of foreign currency and urges better use of domestic production resources. He quotes the Ukraine's agricultural production figures for 1989 and calls for improved living standards. (applause) He identifies various reserves in the economy which can be tapped. He goes on to ecology, specifically the elimination of the consequences of Chernobyl, urging specific measures to help the population affected by the accident and those who helped to clear up afterwards. (applause) He complains about the shortage of culture and calls for greater material investment in it. Ivashko calls on the Congress to send a message of hope, not tension, by supporting the government program.

At 1544 GMT Gorbachev calls Belorussian Prime Minister Kovalev to the floor. Kovalev expresses his views on the government program, calls for intensification of discipline and responsibility in the economy. He calls for a mechanism to regulate the relationship between the supplier and the consumer. The transition to market mechanisms must proceed gradually. He voices his opinions on food production levels, lamenting the out-of-date nature of agricultural equipment. He suggests that a program put forward by his republic to help rehabilitate people affected by Chernobyl be taken on board by the USSR government. He urges an increase in consumer goods production. He supports the government program.

At 1555 GMT the floor is offered to Deputy Sazhi Umalatova, a member of the Supreme Soviet Committee for the Work of Soviets of People's Deputies, the development of government and self-government, who expresses her views on the government program and cites local problems of her own republic, Checheno-Ingushetiya, such as infant mortality. She calls for additional investment in social facilities and dwells on other local issues. She calls for a solution to several specific ecological problems in the 13th five-year-plan and mentions other regional problems. She praises the social orientation of Ryzhkov's report.

At 1607 GMT the floor of offered to RSFSR Prime Minister Vlasov, who observes that the economy is the key to solving the country's crisis. He praises the constructive nature of the government program. He cites economic problems in his republic, including rural areas of central Russia, as well as the Far East. Solution of problems depends on us alone, he says. Changes in the country are forcing us to view problems differently. He complains about the imbalance resulting from the low prices of the consumer goods which it imports. He dwells on problems involved in developing the Far North and Siberia. He backs the government's plan to review prices. he backs a strong, unified national economic complex, and rejects the exclusive use of market mechanisms. On relations between republics and the center, he cites the need for central investment to help republican efforts in agriculture. He stresses the importance of developing the processing sector in improving agricultural performance. He regrets lapses in production discipline and interruptions in food supplies to various areas.

1608 GMT

LD1312173589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1608 GMT on 13 December continues it recorded relay of the Second Congress of People's Deputies session from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At 1621 GMT floor is given to Uzbek Deputy Irgashev, who voices his opinions of the country's economic problems. He praises the party's and government's efforts to create the necessary preconditions for economic development, particularly in the power engineering sector. He expresses opinions on that sector, urging more efforts to help regions so far poorly served by the power system. He cites other problems, such as the republic's high birth rate, poorly equipped schools, housing and other facilities.

At 1630 GMT the floor is given to Deputy Kryuchkov, head of the congress's secretariat, who outlines procedural matters regarding the order of speakers. Requests to speak are still coming in. It is planned to restrict each deputy to one speech. He invites deputies who did not get a chance to speak to hand in written versions of their speech to the secretariat. Other procedural points are elucidated.

At 1642 GMT Gorbachev invites questions for Kryuchkov. Several deputies deliver questions from the floor. Kryuchkov answers.

At 1645 GMT a recess is called.

1646 GMT

LD1312191189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1646 GMT on 13 December continues its recorded relay of the Second Congress of People's Deputies session from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. The deputies are seen reassembling following the session recess.

At 1648 GMT Lukyanov is shown chairing the session. Lukyanov gives the floor to Gavriil Popov.

At 1649 GMT Popov criticizes the system of administrative socialism and emphasizes the need for orientation on the market to improve production and praises the role played by competition. He cites various production figures as quoted at previous congresses to illustrate state of production. He says it is not a question of figures but of the ideas behind them. The market is a promise, but administrative socialism has brought the country to a deadlock. He suggests the 13th 5-year plan should be called the first one, then it will be the first 5-year plan of genuine economic growth. He expresses various reservations regarding perestroyka from above and urgent measures, saying all levels of the economy must be activated. Market operations are being systematically put off, just being cast slogans. He proposes that a referendum be held regarding economic reforms. Move to the open market has been postponed for a year but the interregional group has made a decision that it should be institutionalized immediately. He says the question of monetary reform is a political one. The peasants must be allowed to free the country of agricultural imports, thereby creating a surplus of foreign currency. He states the need for a new economic mechanism.

At 1709 GMT Deputy Dedeneva from Omsk takes the rostrum. She complains scientists frequently put forward unrealistic ideas. Workers are in doubt about perestroyka, crime is increasing, she says she complains about the empty shops and says people are beginning to lose their belief in perestroyka, especially as results are not evident. People are not working as hard as they used to and children are not getting such a sound education as they used to. She says that omsk suffers shortages, because, although the oblast is producing plenty of food and goods, these are being taken to other areas, leaving the local population with shortages. She complains that many laws have been adopted but they have failed to have any effect, that the strikes have failed to bring any good, and lists other current ills. She details the hardships being suffered by women in the textile industry. She appeals to the deputies to bring some order to things and to strengthen discipline and says that it is up to women to do this.

At 1719 GMT the floor is given to Nazarbayev who expresses his agreement with Gorbachev that perestroyka will win through if the economy is successful. He says that capitalist type relations are not suitable at the present time and will only damage the economy. he says little has changed from an economic point of view in the period between the first and the second congress. He favors genuine rights for the republics as the republics are not getting the true deserts for their output. As the main raw materials reserve, Kazakhstan has the right to expect a higher standard of living. He enumerates reforms in progress in Kazakhstan. He states that foreign capital must be attracted to Kazakhstan and the republic must be able to run its economy independently. He condemns such moves as strikes and protests, saying that they are bad for perestroyka. He complains of lack of discipline in the country and failure of laws to be observed.

At 1732 GMT Lukyanov says, "Deputy Mgeladze, first deputy chairman of the Georgian soviet socialist republic council of ministers, chairman of the state agro-industrial committee of this republic, has the floor." Lukyanov then instructs the next speaker to get ready.

At 1733 GMT Deputy Mgeladze talks about the economic complex of the republic and of the need to regard it as a whole, taking its specific circumstances into account. Economic relations between the center and the republic should be determined by contracts. He talks about a transitional period for mutual relations and the problems of prices formation in the case of Georgia and gives details of Georgian economic developments. He stresses the need for an economic program bases on decentralization and the responsibility of the republics for the ultimate results of their activity. He speaks of the need for friendship among peoples and the need to do away with interethnic tension. Mgeladze then says, "On the instruction of those who elected me, I wish to convey to the congress the certainty of my people that the corps of deputies of the country will adopt an understanding attitude to questions that concern us, including to a political and legal assessment of the infringements of the treaty between Georgia and Soviet Russia of 7 May 1920 and also to the conclusions of the commission investigating the circumstances of the events which took place in Tbilisi on 9 april, 1989. The social and political situation in Georgia will depend to a large extent on this." He says the government is often criticized but there has been progress as a result of present party policies.

Mgeladze finishes speaking at 1742 GMT.

1743 GMT

LD1312192589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1743 GMT on 13 December continues its recorded relay of the Second Congress of People's Deputies from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At 1744 GMT the floor is taken by Deputy Goryinin who talks about the revitalization of the economy and the economizing of energy resources. He talks of the need to encourge enterprises to use achievements of scientific and technical progress and dwells on other concerns of the scientific community.

At 1756 GMT the floor is given to Mutalibov, chairman of the Azerbaijan Council of Ministers, who calls for strengthening discipline in the economic sphere. He expresses views on ways of improving the consumer market, criticizes the centralized price system, which hampers the republics' development. The republic should have the right to use its own resources. Economic recovery overall depends on economic independence for the republics. He refers to individual projects in his republic.

At 1804 GMT the floor is offered to Deputy Shenin, first secretary of Krasnoyarsk Kray Party Committee, who dwells on the Siberian perspective on Ryzhkov's report. He laments shortages in the social sphere in his region. He sees domestic stability as a condition of economic recovery. Siberia must not lag behind other regions. The center has provided no backing for social programs there, but has swallowed up the region's profits. He regrets the fall in labor and production discipline. He talks in general about the damage done to the economy by strikes and interethnic conflicts. He refers to culture, which has to go hand-in-hand with economic progress.

At 1815 GMT Lukyanov reads out a statement to the chairman concerning discipline in the congress hall from a deputy from Ordzhonikidze. Lukyanov then announces a 20-minute recess.

At 1833 GMT the recorded relay resumes. Lukyanov announces that debate will continue. the floor is given to Deputy Zalikhanov.

At 1834 GMT Zalikhanov takes the floor. He hails the importance of the declaration on small peoples. He speaks about the plea of the Balkhar people who were moved to harsh area of USSR. He says these people should be reimbursed for their suffering by legislative acts providing for pensions and other benefits. He asks the government to help the peoples who were repressed by Stalin. He asks Yazov to re-examine the issue of awarding the titles of hero of the Soviet Union to the people of his nationality who died for the USSR. He points to the need to soften the dictate of central bodies. The situation in this respect is not improving. He stresses that Kabardino-Balkhar republic must have control over tourism on its territory. He points to some planned projects the construction of which would have very negative impact on the fauna and flora of the republic and on its environment. On interethnic relations in the republic he says that all nationalities living in the republic should have equal conditions for their life, for only this ensures that the tasks of perestroyka are successfully tackled. He voices his disapproval on some people's pronouncements which ridicule the importance the Great October Socialist Revolution.

At 1843 GMT Lukyanov introduces Yegor Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. At 1844 GMT Ligachev begins speaking.

1844 GMT

LD1312194589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1844 GMT on 13 December continues its recorded relay of the Second Congress of People's Deputies from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow. Ligachev begins his speech by noting that a truly collective search for solving various problems is under way at the congress. It is being carried out in the agrarian sphere, too.

Ligachev asks to speak on the problem of agrarian sphere. He cites figures of capital invetment, but we are still forced to buy about 35 million tonnes of grain abroad. Incomes are growing faster than food supplies. The state and collective farms are not a paralyzed form of farming. He says that priority in agriculture should be social ownership of means of production.

At 1846 GMT Ligachev asks what private ownership of the means of production will mean. He then says it will mean fundamental change of the life in the countryside. He compares the performance of U.S. and Soviet economy and stresses that all must be done to make the Soviet farmer a true master of the land.

At 1851 GMT Ligachev speaks about the situation in the countryside. Farmers lead a poor life and hence a radical way out of this situation must be found. 275 million rubles of capital investment is needed to improve the situation in the countryside. If a farmer lives poorly, then society cannot be living well, either. It is necessary to provide an all-around help to the countryside. Ligachev says the losses in agriculture must be eliminated. He compares the expenditure per unit of agricultural production in the USSR and abroad.

At 1855 GMT Ligachev says the modern food industry is now being formed in the USSR. It is said that the march plenum decisions are not working. He asks if the priority given to agriculture has really taken effect. He supports the government measure on introduction of new procurement wholesale prices. He gives figures for capital investments in agriculture aimed at improving performance of this sphere.

At 1858 GMT Ligachev says agrarian policy is an indivisible part of party policy. However, the separatism in various republics hampers this principle.

At this point a bell rings, marking the end of Ligachev's allowed speaking time. Ligachev concludes his remarks at 1959, expressing his confidence that the communists wil carry out their task in improving the agriculture situation.

1900 GMT

LD1312200989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1900 GMT on 13 December continues its recorded relay of the Second Congress of People's Deputies from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

Deputy Mirkasymov from Uzbekistan speaks about the low standard of construction in the republic and complains that average wage in the republic is below R75 per calendar month, that people's needs in housing have not been taken into account. This resulted in serious social tension. Measures to alleviate this situation contain primarily allocation of land for citizens for agricultural use. The funds provided by central budget should level the standard of living in various union republics. The land should be the property of the republic. However, the land is still being managed by the union bodies without taking into account the view of the republic. The unity of national-economy complex should be the main principle for relations between republics and regions of the USSR. The measures of the government do not deem all regions equal, the republics should be on an equal level, enjoy equivalent exchange with other republics. The procurement prices of cotton are too low, but nobody heeds the objections raised by the republic. The prices must reflect all production costs, otherwise the transfer of the republic to regional financial autonomy is simply impossible. Fresh proposal on this was submitted to the government.

At 1910 GMT Mirkasymov says there is true unemployment in the republic. He asks for the reason for union central bodies for doing nothing about solving the employment situation in the republic, for otherwise social progress cannot be guaranteed. He notes Uzbekistan cannot remain only raw materials basis, it must be on equal footing with other republics. Hence measures must be introduced in this respect. He then speaks about grave situation of Aral, which is a result of cotton-growing mania. This must be solved. He proposes to approve Ryzhkov's report and says that the government has found a true approach to solving the tasks.

At 1914 GMT Lukyanov reads a note from 11 deputies complaining about the lack of concrete proposals on improving the economy. He agrees.

At 1915 GMT the floor is given to Deputy Antanavichyus from Lithuania. He speaks about pseudo-reforms which are demoralizing people and impoverishing one of the richest countries in the world. There must be fundamental decisions, not words. The confidence of man in the system must be revived. Economic reform cannot be divided from political reform. The preservation of monopoly rights in politics leads to stagnation, he says that it is Lenin's quote. The removal of monopolies of power is the prime prerequisite for the progress of reform.

At 1919 GMT Antanavichyus speaks about the introduction of market economy. However, recent measures preserve the same centralized system. Socialist economy crashed not only in the Soviet Union, but also in Eastern European countries. He proposes denationalization of agricultural enterprises, turning state and collective farms into joint stock enterprises. Lease contracting is unacceptable, for all rests on the form of ownership. The ownership relations within society as a whole should also be changed and be based on joint stock ownership. This is a true feature of democratic socialism. He ponders the concept of socialist public ownership. He questions the all-union ownership of land.

At 1924 GMT he quotes Lenin's 1918 pronouncement on ownership. He says any delay in implementing economic reform could be very dangerous. He quotes examples of the Baltic economic reform provision and notes that central bodies took long time approving it. He says it would be very nice to turn our society into one which takes hard and swift decisions.

Antanavichyus concludes speaking at 1927 GMT.

1928 GMT

LD1312210789

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1928 GMT on 13 December continues its recorded relay of the Second Congress of People's Deputies from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow.

At 1928 GMT Lukyanov says that 17 deputies spoke today and some organizational issues should be resolved. He says an editorial commission should be established. The composition of this commission was proposed.

At 1930 GMT Deputy Kuznetsov from Leningrad proposes that another's deputy name be added to those on the list. An unidentified Komsomol deputy asks for another name to be added. Few more deputies propose additonal names to be added to the commission list.

At 1933 GMT Lukyanov says that a proposal was submitted to replace the person nominated as commission's chairman. Medvedev was in this post during the last Congress of People's Deputies and coped well with his task.

At 1934 GMT the voting of the chairman starts. At 1938 GMT the result of the vote is given: 1072 vote in favor, 727 vote against. Medvedev is reelected.

At 1939 GMT another vote on the composition of the committee including the amendments put forward by the deputies takes place. At 1943 GMT the voting figures are given: 1543 vote in favor, 212 vote against, 48 abstain. Lukyanov declares the committee composition passed. He then calls Politburo member Yakovlev to rostrum. Yakovlev asks for his candidature to be withdrawn. Lukyanov asks for voting on the commissions, whether it should be done all together or separately. Hand vote taken. The majority votes for voting to be done together.

At 1946 GMT an unidentified deputy makes a point from the floor, saying no person should sit on more than one commission. Lukyanov explains the agreed procedure. Several other deputies express views from the floor.

At 1950 GMT Lukyanov calls for a vote on all the commissions together. The voting figures are given: 1,621 for, 133 against, 34 abstentions. Lukyanov invites comments from the floor. One deputy casts doubt on the reliability of the counting machines. Another criticizes some colleagues' ethics. Others raise procedural points of interest to them. Gorbachev and Lukyanov give occasional replies in between the deputies' points.

At 1957 GMT Lukyanov announces that the congress will work in sections tomorrow, starting at 0700 GMT and gives the venues for each section's meeting and other relevant information. He makes some further procedural announcements.

At 2000 GMT Lukyanov announces a recess until 14 December. The recorded relay ends.

Ryzhkov Report on Economic Reform

PM1412142389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 89 Morning Edition pp 2-4

[Speech by Nikolay Ryzhkov to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin on 13 December: "Effectiveness, Consolidation, and Reform Are the Way to a Healthy Economy"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] Comrade People's Deputies!

The question put forward for examination by the congress on measures for the recovery of the economy, of stages of economic reform, and fundamental approaches to drafting the 13th 5-Year Plan is a key issue and is dictated by the country's extremely complicated economic situation. Society really must understand the state in which the national economy finds itself, what problems there are, and how they should be solved.

Now, more than ever, what is required is the careful and correct choice of the path toward further development and the drafting of a program of measures reflecting both tactics for actions in the current conditions and long-term strategy.

You have the government's report. This provides an opportunity to concentrate only on its fundamental provisions instead of setting forth its content.

I.

The logic of the work to draw up a program for the recovery of the national economy required a profound analysis of the problems and realistic evaluations flowing from it, and of the opportunities for carrying out the task of bringing the economy out of today's complicated condition.

It is reflected in concentrated form in the tangle of acute contradictions we have to solve. These are the disturbed money circulation and the unbalanced finances, the chronically sick investment activity and the monopolization of production, the slow reorientation of the economy toward satisfying people's needs and the weak base of the social sphere, the insufficiency of foodstuffs and other goods, the extremely unfavorable ecological situation in a number of regions, the slowdown in scientific-technical progress and the distorted foreign economic policy. There is increased instability in the development of many branches. Rates of economic growth are decreasing and in a number of cases production volumes are also something serving to reduce possibilities for resolving social problems.

At the same time, on its own, such an evaluation of the processes occurring in the national economy would be one-sided and subjective.

Neither can we fail to see a number of positive changes affecting the interests and material situation of Soviet people. The economy is increasingly turning toward the social aspect of life, something which can be traced easily using the illustration of the changing correlation between the production of means of production and the production of consumer goods. The assignment of investments to the social sphere and the accelerated development of its material and technical base have become priorities. The application of new forms of economic management is spreading, although not so rapidly.

As you know, there was virtually no increase in the volume of housing construction during the previous three 5-year plans. During this 5-year plan it will grow by 110 million square meters, or by almost 2 million apartments. Noticeable improvements also are taking place in reinforcing the material bases of health care, education, and culture. In October this year an important step was taken in raising the minimim levels for pensions and in removing differences between the pension provisions for working people in the city and the countryside.

It is another matter that these positive changes are lagging behind the growing demands of society, and most importantly "are being blurred" by the negative phenomena in the economy. Hence the buildup of social tension, the dissatisfaction with the progress of perestroyka among the majority of the members of society, and the demands to speed up social and economic reforms.

What is the cause of the situation that has arisen? Looking for some single reason would be incorrect. The present-day economic situation of the country has been brought about by a set of interrelated causes. In it I would single out four main groups:

First, chronic negative factors of a deep-seated nature: This is the extemely distorted structure of social production, oriented in the first place toward the development of heavy industry and not toward the consumer. It is the backward technical level of production potential in many sectors, and also the national economy's nonreceptivity toward scientific and technical progress, which has become chronic. Low efficiency, primarily in the vitally important spheres of the economy, is the result.

One cannot say that these causes were not known before. They were known, but it is perfectly obvious—and this must be admitted frankly—that in the first stage of perestroyka we underestimated their scale and complexity, and therefore drew an excessively optimistic conclusion regarding the possibility of quickly overcoming them. Today it is clear that the implementation of many of them will take a long time.

The second cluster of causes: This includes shortcomings in implementing economic reform. I would describe the insufficient elaboration of a new economic mechanism and its lack of proper economic controls as the main ones. Granting economic independence in such conditions was not accompanied by corresponding measures aimed at enhancing responsibility and discipline. As a result, group egoism has become exacerbated, the production volumes of many kinds of products required by the national economy are falling, prices are rising, and as a consequence the material and financial imbalance is being aggravated.

Legal, economic, and financial instruments due to become the integral elements of state regulation during the transition to a new system of economic management were not developed in time. This has resulted in considerable budgetary losses and illegal phenomena in the financial sphere, and has in many ways encouraged the growth of a breeding-ground for the "shadow economy."

Some shortcomings could have been foreseen, but the fact that the scientific substantiation of the reform was being carried out in the course of its implementation had an effect. One cannot dismiss the fact that transition from one state of the economy to another, especially such a revolutionary transition, always involves considerable difficulties.

The third cluster of causes includes the errors and omissions that have been made during the preparation of a number of serious nationwide measures without properly evaluating the consequences, and haste in their practical implementation. They include, first and foremost, the anti-alcohol campaign. No doubt, one should fight such a social evil as drunkenness without mercy.

However, it is necessary to act in a well-considered manner and to aim the main blow at eradicating the deep-rooted causes of this phenomenon. Then, we would not have gotten the form in which this whole campaign has been expressed. It has assumed a tendency which is essentially prohibitive, and has inflicted not only great material damage, but also moral harm. Inconsistency in the fight against non-labor income also ought to be counted among the serious errors. We also must add to this the adoption of many programs for individual regions and industries without the necessary resources, which has led to an even greater imbalance in the national economy.

Finally, undesirable phenomena that seriously complicate economic development have begun to appear in society, against the background of the rapidly developing processes. These are a fall in production and labor discipline and a decline in responsibility for the fulfillment of obligations to consumers and the state. Clashes on interethnic grounds, strikes at enterprises, "blockades," and lengthy interruptions of traffic on main railway routes are inflicting enormous damage that is hard to predict. Losses from strikes alone in the 11 months of this year have amounted to 7.5 million man-days, and there has been a shortfall of more than R2 billion in supplies of output in the national economy.

Even a short enumeration of the problems facing the country testifies to the exceptional importance of the decisions due to be adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies.

A way out of the situation that has developed can be achieved only through intense, well-organized work by all sectors of the national economy and all working people on the basis of the most clear and well-coordinated action program.

II.

Comrades!

Before dwelling on the essence of the government report, I want to draw your attention to the fundamental approaches to the drafting of its provisions.

The program results from the selection of solutions on the basis of alternative and multivariant comparisons and calculations. This applies to practically all its main aspects: the economic reform, the approaches to the drafting of the 13th 5-Year Plan, and the drawing up of measures to promote economic recovery.

First: Speaking of the variant approach to the choice of ways to develop economic reform, I would like, first of all, to note the following: In the government's opinion, proposals to hold back the economic transformations, or even to give up the reform and return to the old administrative system, are completely unacceptable. That road holds no prospects. In any event, it would lead us into a dead end. There is no alternative to economic reform.

Now, about the possible variant ways to develop the reform. As you know, three of them have been examined. The choice had to be made as to how to proceed: either by the road of small, partial, improvements in the economic mechanism, drawn out over time, or to rush immediately, without thinking, into the abyss of elemental market forces without creating the necessary conditions and effective regulators. Both of these were rejected.

Of course, it is tempting to accelerate the process of economic transformations as much as possible in order to obtain an effect from them more rapidly, but the complexity of the contemporary situation does not allow us to take that path. For example, if we were to attempt—in defiance of the objective conditions—to introduce market relations everywhere, and to their full extent as soon as 1990 or 1991, this could lead to serious economic and social shocks. The inevitable consequence of such a decision would be a spiral of galloping inflation, a reduced role for all economic incentives, a drop in production, massive unemployment, and an aggravation of social tension. In other words, this path leads to renewal through crisis. It is difficult even to imagine the depth of the possible crisis here. This would be a foolhardy step.

The government has chosen an option that combines energetic measures to deepen the reform with realistic and carefully considered actions at all levels of administration. It is mutually linked with measures for the recovery of the economy and with society's objective preparedness to apprehend radical changes.

The second group of alternative solutions concerns approaches to drawing up the 13th 5-Year Plan.

I must say that this work did not begin in a void. Last year the USSR Gosplan, with the participation of the State Committee for Science and Technology and the Academy of Sciences, presented a draft concept of the country's future economic and social development.

Subsequently, the method of considering different variants was used as well. We proceeded from the fact that one and the same ultimate, long-term aims can be achieved, with variant relationships of distribution of the national income between consumption and accumulation, and with various timetables for resolving social tasks.

The characteristics of the alternative variants of the country's socioeconomic development in the 13th 5-Year Plan period have been set out in sufficient detail in the report presented. Having realistically and comprehensively assessed the totality of economic, social, and political problems and factors, which have become sharply aggravated, the government has come to the conclusion that the variant providing for an accelerated social reorientation of the economy is preferable. This is also in line with the decisions of the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

What is its main feature?

It is based on the need for the urgent realization of a set of major measures of a structural investment nature, aimed at fundamentally improving the state of affairs in the social sphere, at satisfying the people's vital needs, and at resolving the top-priority problems in this sphere at an accelerated rate. In line with such a target, it is envisaged to concentrate national economic resources on providing the population with food and industrial goods, with services and housing, and on developing the health service, improving working conditions, and protecting the environment.

For this, in the first years of the 13th 5-Year Plan period, it is planned to increase the proportion of resources from the national income used for current consumption and nonproduction construction to 89-90 percent. Naturally, the maintenance of that proportion at such a high level for a long time would mean a sharp limitation of sources for production accumulation, which ultimately and inevitably will lead to a corresponding reduction of opportunities to raise the prosperity of the people further. Therefore, it is proposed to reduce this proportion to 87-88 percent in the subsequent part of the 13th 5-Year Plan period.

Third, there were alternatives and many versions involved when we chose mesures to improve the condition of the economy and defined the stages of their implementation in close linkage with the development of the economic reform and with national economic proportions.

Let us take, first and foremost, the nature of the measures to improve the condition. In seeking them, we agreed to enter into direct dialogue, in the course of preparing the program, with all those who wished to participate in that immense, important work, including representatives of informal movements and radically inclined groups of specialists, academics, and people involved in practical work. The proposals expressed by them were distinguished by their diversity. A significant proportion of them were taken into account in the course of work on the program, but they also included some very contentious ones, with which the government could not agree. In order for you to have an idea of those proposals, I will name some of them:

- The introduction of private ownership, including ownership of land;
- The denationalization of state property on a large scale, including the sale of small and medium-sized enterprises;
- The immediate introduction of a ration card system;
- The implementation of a regressive money reform;
- The freezing of loan issues for the 1990-91 period and permission for citizens to withdraw from their savings accounts no more than R25-50 per month;
- The introduction of a 6-day work week;
- The introduction of a special situation [osoboye polozheniye] in a number of regions and industries;
- The limitation of leave to 2 weeks for the next 3 years, and so on.

The government has given its view on some of them in the report at the Congress of People's Deputies.

In determining a period for improving the economy and leading it into normal operating conditions, we were guided by the main requirement that the program should be based on taking into account the absolutely real situation and really should secure the attainment of the goals set. That is precisely why it encompasses the coming 6 years.

Two stages stand out in this period: the years 1990-92 and the years 1993-95. The first requires a package of extraordinary measures aimed at overcoming the situation that has arisen in the economy, primarily the budget deficit and the deep-running imbalance of the consumer market.

Operating here are both tough directive measures and mounting economic levers. In other words, simultaneously directive methods of administration will be applied and market relations will gradually start to be developed.

In the second stage economic methods of guidance of the national economy come into force to maximum degree, in the market functions more and more actively through basic changes in ownership, in land utilization, in leasing, through the principles of republican financial autonomy and self-financing, through local economy and local self-management, through the socialist enterprise, through taxation, and others.

This approach makes it possible to ensure the effectiveness of urgent measures not only to solve priority problems of economic development, but also to create conditions for implementing long-term strategic proposals and to provide an opportunity to really build a new model of an economic system.

It was extraordinarily important to determine what the foundation of this model would be like, what it would be based on. Of course, this was above all such cornerstones as a diversity of forms of ownership, their equality and competitiveness. The position of the government on this question is in full agreement with the published draft law on ownership.

Another very important element of the new economic mechanism is the market. The task is being set of turning it, in combination with state regulation, into an active instrument, promoting the effective activity of the participants in social production.

Does this mean that we are abandoning planning and state regulation of the economy? Of course not. State regulation now should rest to an ever greater extent on laws and economic methods, prices, taxes, credits, and investments. Preparation of major legislative acts—

regarding a unified tax system, banks, investment activities, and other things—is now underway. They should provide the state with powerful levers for exerting economic influence on a national economy that is functioning under conditions of renewed socialism, an important feature of which is a truly proportional and free economic development.

Of exceptional importance in the new management model will be a system of social guarantees. The market economy can be acceptable within the framework of socialism only when organically linked with a carefully thought-out and strong state policy aimed at maintaining and strengthening citizens' social protection. Included here are both the creation of equal opportunities for free and all-round development, and the realization of the right to work and insuring a worthy life for those members of society who are incapable of work—war and labor veterans, pensioners, and the disabled—that is to say, all those who by virtue of their circumstances are unable to engage in active employment.

Comrades, I have touched on only the main, most fundamental aspects of the new economic system. Facing us now as an urgent, top-priority task is to determine correctly and in a balanced manner the ways and stages of deepening the economic reform. Presented in the government report are fairly detailed characteristics of the periods of realization of its concept.

Before revealing their content, I must tell you why we are proposing that this work be carried out in stages. Primarily, it is because its development is inextricably linked with stages of development of the economy in the 13th 5-Year Plan.

The first stage comprises the years 1990-92. This period is determined by the fact that, essentially, the legal and normative bases for the new economic system are to be laid during this time, and at the same time a complex of major socioeconomic measures is to be implemented. This must be organically combined with urgent measures for the recovery of the national economy.

Alongside the fact that fundamental legislative acts are to be adopted in the near future—on ownership, land, republics' self- government and self-financing, local economy and self-government, a single taxation system, and the socialist enterprise, among others—everything necessary must be done so that they become a certain part of our economic life and really begin to influence it—in short, so that they begin to work properly. This is an extremely complex process. It affects not only the national economy, but also society as a whole. Thus, the essential conditions must be created in society so that the practical implementation of the provisions contained in these laws are insured in as short a period as possible.

Among the specific measures of this stage, I will single out, in particular, reform in price formation and the introduction of a single taxation system. The practice of past years has shown that the advancement of economic reform is impossible without resolving these two very important issues. Of course, there should be consideration of the fact that they must be underpinned by measures of an antimonopolistic and anti-inflationary nature, and also by measures for the social protection of the population.

I would like to evaluate, on a large scale, the importance and originality of the second stage of economic reform. It is distinguished by radicalism. Drawing on the preconditions created in 1990-92—and these include improving finances, reform of price formation, and new principles of taxation—it leads us up to solving the fundamental tasks of the reform.

In the first place, these include large-scale changes in the forms of ownership; the development, on this basis, of new management structures, including those of a nondepartmental status; and the practical attainment of the vigorous formation of the socialist market while simultaneously adjusting the instruments for its regulation.

Concluding the subject of economic reform, I cannot fail to speak about two other major issues on which the practical embodiment of its concepts into concrete and palpable results directly depends. These are the forms of management and the cadres.

With regard to the forms of management, the process of setting up various kinds of associations, concerns, joint-stock companies, commercial banks, etc alongside the state enterprises has begun and is growing stronger in the country. Their share in the economy will be increasing. At the same time, major enterprises of the basic industries and production infrastructure will be retained within the sphere of direct state management.

Now about insuring provision of cadres. History does not know examples of efficient management in the absence of highly skilled managerial cadres. They can be selected and appointed in different ways, but the high professionalism of leaders, their ability to run affairs in complex and constantly changing conditions, prestige, and social security will always be a necessary precondition for success.

The first, albeit short, experience of appointing managers by election permits us to draw the conclusion that the introduction of such a system everywhere brought not just plusses, but minuses as well.

What should a principled approach to solving this issue be like? Management will always be a function of ownership. It is precisely the owner of the means of production who defines the principles and procedures for the selection and use of economic managers. As diverse forms of ownership develop, a diversity of forms and methods of solving cadre issues also will intensify.

The government believes that at state enterprises the manager is the representative of the state as the owner of the means of production. He, obviously, must not be elected but appointed. Meanwhile, monitoring of his activity on behalf of the owner of the means of production must be implemented by appropriate union, republican, and local bodies of state authority. Without doubt, the role of social organizations and the labor collective is in no way diminished in cadre matters or in the solution of tasks connected with internal economic activity. Its council must constantly keep the production and economic life of the enterprise in its field of vision here.

Cadre issues will be tackled differently in cooperatives, leasing enterprises, and joint-stock societies, where there is wide use of collegiate management bodies, the appointment of managers by election, and their responsibility to the members of the cooperative or the stockholders—in other words, to those who are the owners.

The role and responsibility of the leader of a modern, very complex production facility requires corresponding professional training. One would think that it is a task of the country's legislative and executive power to show constant concern about the professional growth and prestige of the pool of managerial cadres.

These are the main interlinks determining the substance of the stages of further implementing the economic reform.

III.

Comrades! Let me dwell on the most acute issues of the program of urgent measures for the years 1990-92.

Evaluating the situation, we see that social problems are becoming ever more burning. Today they have moved to the first place and need to be solved urgently. We have chosen a path, and this path is social reorientation of the economy.

The urgent measures envisaged for 1990 hold a special place here, and it is precisely on these that our attention should be concentrated.

Strict monitoring of the implementation of the priority measures mapped out in the plan for next year and aimed at defusing social tension in the country should be established at all the levels of management in combination with organizational and practical work, both at the central and local levels.

To this end a major structural maneuver is to be carried out. An acceleration of the pace should be achieved almost entirely through growth of the consumer sector of the economy while at the same time there is to be a stabilization of and, in a number of cases, even a reduction in reproduction resources. Thus, the increase in the utilized national income in 1990 by 2.8% should be achieved while increasing by 6.5% the resources for consumption and nonproduction building.

Industrial production next year will increase by 2.6%. This includes growth of group B [i.e., consumer goods] by 7.6% and of group A [i.e., producer goods] by only 0.8%.

State centralized capital investments in industrial building have been reduced by R27 billion compared to the calculations for 1990 under the 5-year plan. At the same time there has been an increase of R5 billion in the social sphere.

All sections of the plan are imbued with a similar change in proportions in favor of the consumer sector. This is a sharp and extremely difficult turnaround, but it is necessary because of the extraordinary situation in the country.

The major task of the present period is the normalization of the money circulation and the consumer market. The situation in this sphere is generally known. Of late it has been getting worse because of panic buying [azhiotazhnyy spros] and nervousness about shortages, and it is being fanned systematically by all kinds of rumors.

An analysis of the causes of the situation that has arisen on the consumer market shows that a complex of mutually linked measures, including measures along three main thrusts, is necessary to stabilize it:

An increase of goods and services on offer;

An expansion of new, and what are to us nontraditional ways to attract the population's resources and "tying them up" for a long period;

State regulation of the growth of the population's monetary incomes commensurate with the potential of the economy and the end results of labor.

These measures have been comprehensively elaborated by the USSR Government with the union republics. The main thing here is the sharp increase in the manufacture of consumer goods. Of crucial significance in this is the fulfillment of next year's plan. It provides for hitherto unprecedented growth in the manufacture of consumer goods—R66 billion, compared to R17 billion on average annually during the past 5-year plan so far.

I must say that there is some doubt about the practicability of this figure—R66 billion. This really is a large growth. However, one cannot help wondering, in the present conditions of shortages in the consumer market, is it possible to set the task in any other way? We weighed up everything and took the decision to make maximum use of the possibilities of the whole economy to attain this aim. In a word, comrades, there's been enough hesitation; emotions must be channeled toward practical matters.

We have real opportunities to carry out the set task. These are, above all, structural improvements in industry in favor of consumer goods. Thus, with a growth in output of production in machine-building of 4.2%, the volume of goods production will increase by more than 30%. There will be approximately just as high a rate in the country's defense complex. It is intended to achieve this by reprofiling existing enterprises, including more than 100 works in the defense complex in 1990.

The implementation of the said measures will make it possible to increase the output of television sets by 1.3 million, washing machines by 3 million, video recorders by 3.7 times, small tractor-trailers [motobloki] and rotary cultivators by 2.7 times.

The high growth rates in the production of consumer goods and services needs to be maintained in the years 1991-92, too. In 1992 the volume of goods production should be no less than R510 billion—that is, it must grow in 3 years by more than R140 billion, or by 38%. In other words, the growth in output of goods per person will amount to nearly R480. An increase in paid services to the population of 10-12% annually is envisaged.

Speaking of the problem of the consumer market, I want to draw special attention to questions of food supply, which to a decisive degree depends on the countryside. Now in overall goods circulation about 70% of marketed goods are connected with agro-industrial production. Hence, it is quite obvious that if there are not real improvements in the agro-industrial complex, it is difficult to count on an improvement in the whole situation in the country. The situation in this field is well known.

However, I propose that we look deeper. From the whole logic of the development of the countryside over many decades we are obliged to draw correct conclusions and answer this question frankly: Why, despite the enormous attention [paid to the countryside], especially recently, can we not solve this problem?

In the last 10 years alone more than 80 decisions by the CPSU Central Committee and the government, aimed mainly at strengthening the material and technical base of the agro-industrial complex, have been devoted to the countryside. However, the state of affairs is changing slowly. As a result, we are drawn more and more into imported supplies of foodstuffs and grain. It is no longer possible to go on compensating for domestic food production lagging behind requirements, by means of imports on such a scale, but the exclusion of this major source of supply of foodstuffs would lead to even greater difficulties in supplying the population. I want to quote three figures so that you have an idea of import purchases. In vegetable oil they constitute more than 1 million tonnes, or 33% of domestic production; in sugar, 52%; in animal fat, 20%.

In accordance with the decisions of the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the March 1989 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the government is consistently following the policy of turning the economic forces of the country toward the needs of the countryside and of raising the productive forces of agro-industrial production to a modern level. In the general package of planned measures the main emphasis is being put on the development of the social sphere and on improving the conditions of work and everyday life of rural workers.

It is precisely this approach which is contained in the plan for 1990. While the investments in the national economy are generally reduced, capital investments in the agro-industrial complex are growing compared to this year's plan by R5.8 billion (10%)—of them, those in the nonproductive sphere are growing by R3 billion (17%). On the whole, in the years 1986-1990, R17 billion more in capital investments will be utilized in the agro-industrial complex than envisaged by the 5-year plan.

In keeping with the program that has been worked out, the supplies of equipment to the processing industries will be sharply increased. In the years 1990-1992 they will exceed R13 billion, or, in other words, they will grow by almost two-fold in comparison with the preceding 3 years.

In the existing conservative structure of production, which has developed over many years, it is not easy to make these turns. In connection with this, measures are being undertaken aimed at the technical reconstruction of agricultural machine-building and at the utilization of the production potential of the defense industries. In a word, a lot is being done to give the countryside all that it needs and thus change the nature of agricultural work.

At the same time, our entire experience has shown that the food problem cannot be solved by just backing production with "resources." What is needed here is an accelerated social reconstruction of the countryside, which is truly directed toward strengthening it. It seems to us that in this respect we need realistic and carefully planned programs of renewal of villages and settlements at the rayon, oblast, kray and republican level, the implementation of which would be monitored by the soviets of people's deputies. At issue is, of course, not only assistance from patrons or charity for the benefit of the countryside, but major and weighty measures, which must be undertaken in all spheres of the economy, science, and culture to revive spiritual interest in the rural way of life. We have spent enough time trying to persuade each other. The countryside must actually feel real changes within the next few years.

In this regard, the government program for the commissioning of housing and health and cultural facilities, the development of road building, and the provision of electricity and gas supply should be viewed as a program of real action. Substantially greater possibilities exist locally—we are certain of it—and they must be brought into play.

Thus, an immense amount of work must be done in the countryside. This means, above all, work in the social sphere designed to make the style of country life attractive, full-blown, and worthy of the level merited by the rural worker.

Many of the countryside's troubles today consist, above all, in the fact that the peasant has lost the sense of being in charge and that his earnings and standard of living are in many instances not directly tied to the results of his work. Moreover, the income of workers in economically strong collective and state farms where work is done competently is frequently lower than on weak farms which live to a considerable extent in debt, supported by what are essentially unrepayable state credits and subsidies. Such social injustice is unacceptable in our day and age. It has caused a neglect of matters to do with the development of the bulk of agricultural enterprises that determine the state of affairs in the provision of foodstuffs.

As far as loss-making and low-profit farms are concerned, a policy of overcoming their unprofitability—above all through the application of modern forms of economic management, including using them as the basis for setting up leasing enterprises, cooperatives and peasant holdings, and by the wide application of collective, family and individual contracting—will be consistently pursued here.

To maintain these new forms of management, in accordance with a decision by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers, debts on extended bank loans from such state and collective farms will be written off. The state is bearing these debts itself.

In addition to this, in spite of the country's very complex financial situation, the government the other day adopted a decision to increase by R12,000 million the volume of credit resources for enterprises in the agrarian sector in the current year, which will also help normalize their activity.

I will not dwell on all the indices of the stepping-up of food resources. I will merely say that to remove the acuteness of the situation regarding the provision of food products to the population we must reduce the unsatisfied demand for them from R40,000 million in 1989 to R20-25,000 million in 1992. During this period the task is being set to improve the supplies to the population of dairy and fish produce, confectionery and pasta products, vegetables, and so on. We are placing great hopes in these matters on consumer cooperatives and on such a powerful industry as the fishing industry.

Another group of measures, connected with the normalization of monetary circulation, is aimed at utilizing new channels in which the population may dispose of its monetary income, since it is impossible to solve this problem by traditional means merely by increasing the volume of production of goods and services. At the same time, one must take into acount the long-term growth of income of the population and the postponed demand.

It is necessary to create conditions under which people willingly invest their savings in the construction and acquisition of housing and to conduct policy so the population is granted broad opportunities to have second housing on the same principles, to make it more attractive to keep money in the savings bank, participate in various loans, and acquire goods which are not of prime necessity in the system of commercial trade, and to use other ways which are not traditional for us.

We believe it necessary to change the approaches to sale of state apartments for private ownership. As you know, such a procedure already exists, but it has not yet gained wide circulation. The fact is, it is excessively overorganized. All this needs to be corrected; both the population and the state will gain.

At the same time, one should embark on a broad transfer of lands to the townspeople for dacha plots for long-term leasing, with the lease payment being determined on the basis of cadastral evaluation of the land. The same also applies to the allocation of lands for garden and allotment plots. In these questions, especially in dacha construction, in our country a policy of prohibition has operated for many years. People have been deprived of the possibility of engaging in work on the land according to their ability and in the labor education of their children, and deprived of conditions for proper leisure. We think this should be resolutely abandoned in the interests of the individual. It is understood that this problem should be solved taking into account local conditions, traditions, and ethnic peculiarities.

Already beginning next year it is intended to start the issuance of interest-free special-purpose loans, providing the right to acquire within a certain term short-supply durable goods, such as cars, video recorders, refrigerators, and others.

This practice should become more widespread.

It is envisioned to set up a network of commercial shops and auctions for the sale of various nonessential consumer goods, both imported and high-quality Soviet-made items.

Issuance of shares by enterprises, joint stock companies, and associations, as well as extension of the practice of issuing state loans on conditions that are economically advantageous for the population, should become important channels of mobilizing money assets.

In addition to the existing system of interest rates on the population's deposits in saving banks, it is planned to establish higher rates depending on the length of time for which these funds have been deposited.

Of course, new approaches toward utilization of monetary assets by the population are not limited to just this list.

Experience of the last few years shows at the same time that without an effective mechanism for regulating money income it will not be possible to stabilize the market, inasmuch as the economically substantiated relationship between the growth of the people's incomes and the increase in the production of output in the national economy has been upset. This is the kind of situation which has come about in the current year: Income rose 12% while the production of output rose 2%. That is the main reason for the development of inflationary processes and the intensification of the imbalance both in the consumer market and the production sphere. Therefore, in 1990 strict control will be established over the observation of the procedure, adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet, of taxing the growth of resources used for the payment of labor. In addition, beginning in 1991, within the framework of the law of an integral taxation system, it is proposed to introduce a special regulatory tax.

Recently there has been broad discussion in society concerning the most varied proposals to stabilize the market and money circulation. The proposals on introducing in the country a single rationing system and the carrying out of monetary reform are giving rise to the greatest number of disputes.

The government has taken a most thorough look at these questions; outstanding scholars were involved in this.

Despite all the apparent advantages of the rationing system from today's stance, it has a most serious defect. The fact of the matter is that the transition to a single rationing system throughout the entire territory of the USSR is possible only provided that the relevant goods' resources are fully concentrated in the hands of the center. Naturally, there will have to be a return to centralized setting of tasks for the production of all types of products and goods subject to rationing distribution. That contradicts the principles of the economic reform and the policy of developing independence and self-government of the union republics. Such a measure will simply lead to lowering the responsibility of the union republics and regions for satisfying the growing demands of the population and will weaken the incentive to increase production and strengthen moods of dependency.

In a word, it is difficult to introduce a ration-card system, but even more difficult to get out of it. It may be said that this would be a step backward with heavy negative consequences.

As far as currency reform in the version in which it is being proposed is concerned, that is, with a regressive exchange rate, one must bear in mind that such a reform can only reduce unsatisfied demand for a while. It will not eliminate the causes of market imbalance. At the same time, having yielded very insignificant results in the economic sphere, the reform will give rise to extremely negative social consequences. If it were carried out, the most damage would come to people with truly earned savings. One must also take into consideration the fact that it would undermine for a long time the people's trust in a state which was incapable of tackling urgent economic problems without sacrificing people's interests.

Apart from these proposals, the question of introducing a parallel monetary unit has recently been actively discussed. There are those who are ardent supporters of it, and just as many who are ardently opposed to it. The question is truly a very complex and contradictory one, which has both positive and negative aspects. Moreover, the proposals themselves on a parallel monetary unit are very diverse: Some demand that it be introduced just for the consumer market, whereas others think it should be introduced for the market of means of production as well. A number of economists link this step just with the domestic market, whereas some link it with the convertibility of the ruble. In general, we do have a question here. The government is proposing it be studied in detail during preparation of the planned reform of price-fixing.

Comrades! One of the main conditions of ensuring the normal functioning of the economy and the development of economic reform is **making state finances more healthy.**

I think there is no need to dwell in detail on all the reasons that have led to financial disorder, to the creation of an excessive deficit in the state budget. To generalize, the main point is that over many years we have not lived within our means and have increased state spending without a corresponding growth in income. Notwithstanding an overall increase in budget expenditure in 1988 compared with 1985 of R73 billion, the income to the budget practically has not grown.

There is one more circumstance that one should also bear in mind. In going over to financial autonomy and self-financing, a significant portion of the funds, earlier withdrawn from enterprises into the state budget regardless of their financial state, now remains at their disposal. As a result, the situation has arisen where enterprises in many caes have significant unallocated and even surplus funds, whereas the state budget shows an enormous deficit. So, at the beginning of the current year, unallocated, surplus funds of enterprises' reserves have approached R100 billion while there was a state budget deficit of around R120 billion.

The situation that arose of a deficit in the state budget has forced the government to implement a set of substantial measures to make the finances more healthy in the current year.

As a result, the deficit that has formed in 1989 will be reduced to R92 billion. This policy has been continued in drawing up the plan for 1990, and in the budget approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet the deficit in the plan has been reduced to R60 billion. What is more, for the first time in our country's practice, the union and republican governments are using internal state loans to bridge it, placed on a voluntary basis with banks and enterprises at a fairly high rate of interest.

The government is setting the task of achieving a reduction in the budget deficit by 1993 to 2-2.5% of gross national product (R20-25 billion), as against the current 10%. World experience shows that this budget deficit level is quite admissible and does not cause serious negative economic consequences. Those are the main tasks. How and by what specific measures is it planned to achieve them?

The principal way, of course, is by increasing state income on the basis of increasing the volumes and effectiveness of public sector production. That means that as economic incentives are accelerated the conditions must be created to accelerate the growth of accumulation and income by an active resource-saving policy, by combating nonproductive expenditure and losses, by the elimination of loss-making and a build-up in the production of consumer goods.

At the same time, it is evident that one should not count on resolving this problem in the near future by this method alone. So a consistent reduction of spending on defense and administration, a stabilization of production investments, and a reduction in all other budget expenditures is essential.

Conditions for raising the efficiency of public sector production should be created, including by restructuring the finance and credit system.

It is, above all, a matter of introducing from 1991 onward a unified tax system, which is designed to raise substantially the stake of enterprises in and their responsibility for high final results from work, and to put up a barrier to inefficient management.

What is the main advantage of the tax system? It is that the state makes equal demands on all enterprises. Such an arrangement will completely eliminate the subjectivist approach now being practiced by ministries, departments, and union republics in setting the amounts enterprises are to pay into the budget, and will place their mutual relations with the state on a legal basis, regulated by law. In other words, we are resolutely departing from the practice of setting individual norms for contributions to the budgets, which gave rise to sharp criticism in society inasmuch as it preserved equalizing principles.

The proposed system is tough, but it creates objective possibilities for the efficient operation of all enterprises. At the same time, incorporated in it are elements of flexibility connected with the stimulation of individual areas, which are most necessary to society at the present stage of development, such as, for instance, increasing production of consumer goods, creating an export base, introducing the latest technologies, implementing ecological measures, and carrying out structural perestroyka.

The question of taxation levels, as one knows, is the subject of vehement debate. This is understandable. The interests of the individual labor collective and society as a whole converge and are focused, as it were, here. During the debate demands are even being heard that all profit should be left at the disposal of enterprises.

I wish to stress that the tax rates being proposed by the government are due to punctilious economic calculations. We have assessed realistically the level of expenditure that must be financed out of the state budget. This means spending on centralized measures in the sociocultural sphere, defense, union-wide ecological programs, fundamental scientific research and priority areas of scientific and technological progress, as well as the development of a number of basic industries that cannot function stably without state assistance—transport, the fuel and energy industry, and a number of others. The level of tax rates must be the object of scrupulous consideration and discussion in the government and USSR Supreme Soviet.

In the framework of the tax system, anti-inflationary levers hold a special position. They include a regulatory tax on increases in the wages fund and a tax on superprofits. These levers should counter the desire of enterprises to hike up prices and obtain unearned profits at the consumer's expense by profiting from market shortages

Their urgency is also dictated by the fact that in line with changes to the economic mechanism, from 1991 the strict regulation of the size of the funds of enterprises is being lifted and they are being given the right to independently determine the amount of resources going toward wages.

However, in such forms of economic management as the leasing and cooperative form, taxation is essentially the only instrument of state regulation of labor remuneration.

As for progressive taxation of the population's income, the introduction of this already seems expedient in 1990.

I want to dwell in greater detail now on a review of the system of price formation. It is perfectly clear that many shortcomings in the functioning of the national economic complex cannot be overcome if the old system of prices is retained. The time has come to adopt a precise position in this vital matter.

The reform of price formation is intended, above all, to promote the growth of production efficiency, the economical use of material resources, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and to bring internal prices closer to the price structure on the world market. A particular feature of it [reform] is that it is not restricted to a one-off review of prices, but is directed toward creating a flexible system of price formation.

This major measure must be comprehensive and incorporate principles that will make it possible to create the conditions to develop the market and establish workable economic relations between the country's republics and regions, and between the producers and consumers of output.

Such are the main demands with regard to this reform. The possible dates for its implementation stem from them. The government proposes that this be accomplished in stages in the years 1991-92. In this respect it proposes that new wholesale and purchase prices and tariffs be introduced in 1991.

Preparatory work to implement the reform has been in progress for a long time now. However, the complexity of the problem and the contradictions arising during its integrated solution will require additional study as well as consideration of new factors in the development of the economy. All the work is to be completed in 1990 with a view to shaping the next 5-year plan on the basis of it.

A further fundamental issue concerns new puchase prices for agricultural produce. Under a decision adopted earlier it was planned to introduce purchase prices from 1990. However, a detailed consideration of proposals submitted to the government has shown that they do not remove the defects of the existing pricing system. It is not fortuitous that these proposals met with an extremely negative response from the union republics. They have not in practice been tied in with the principles of economic independence and self-financing for the regions and with the forthcoming changes in wholesale prices in industry. Thus the proposals that have been prepared fall, as it were, outside the general pricing reform.

Weighing all aspects of the problem the government has reached the conclusion that the adoption now of half-baked decisions on purchase prices for agricultural produce without their being tied in with a general pricing reform would be a mistake.

This will not yield any results and can only aggravate the unbalanced state of the agricultural economy and will provoke a negative reaction by collective and state farms, even more so as, in the process, the share of loss-making enterprises, as calculations show, will increase from 5% at the present time to 20%.

The government believes that the question of new procurement prices for agricultural produce must be tackled in a single package with the reform price formation in 1991.

Regarding retail prices, taking into account the special sociopolitical importance of this question, it would be advisable to submit the concept of their reform and of compensation to the population for additional expenditures linked with this, for nationwide discussion in 1990, and already on the basis of its results to determine the sequence and deadlines for carrying through the measures in question, with a view to completing them in 1992.

I request the Congress of USSR People's Deputies to support the government's proposal on the issue in question.

The improvement of finances is indissolubly linked to the **restructuring of the entire credit system.** For the time being only the very first and fairly timid steps have been taken in this sphere.

What path is to be covered in the near future?

I will start by saying that the entire banking system will undergo profound changes. This is due to the economic processes, which are developing in the country and which are radically changing our ideas regarding the organization of banking. Commercial, specialized, and industrial banks should become a major element of the entire system of management and financially autonomous centers, independent of any kinds of administrative or other pressure.

They must be equal partners of enterprises and other production entities.

A special position in the banking system must be held by the USSR State Bank, being the country's central bank and only issuing center, and performing as it does the functions of a central reserve system and also managing money circulation in the national economy as a whole.

A no less important function of the USSR State Bank is to define the chief paramaters for credit policy and coordination of the activity of all the country's banks.

Credit reform includes as one of its most important elements the pursuit of an active interest rate policy. After all, what influence can credit exert if interest rates formed decades ago in a completely different economic environment stand at 0.5 to 2% for many types of loans. This causes a paradoxical phenomenon whereby enterprises, while possessing substantial available resources, have no intention of settling with the bank for the credit they have been advanced, preferring to pay the bank exiguous interest.

For this reason the government program envisages as one of its main thrusts an increase in interest rates to 6-8% annually for short-term loans and to 7-9% for long-term ones. At the same time, it is intended to use a broad range of allowances to encourage social measures and effective economic decisions.

One more issue. The production and economic links of state, cooperative and leased enterprises, of design and scientific research organizations and other organizations, which have gone over to the principles of financial autonomy without the corresponding economic and legal regulation, have given rise to the powerful factor of noncash money being pumped into cash and have created additional conditions for unearned money to be paid out. All this has worsened monetary circulation and is putting additional pressure on the consumer market. We need to reach a position where all payments in the national economy, except for the payment for labor, are carried out on a noncash basis.

These negative tendencies are being rather keenly felt already today and will grow immeasurably in the future if the appropriate measures are not taken. Banking and finance bodies are called upon to cut off these channels for the additional issuing of cash. Here local government bodies should not stand aloof.

In concluding the subject of finances being made more healthy, I must dwell on a question which arouses the just indignation of working people and requires urgent measures. It is the question of the "shadow" economy, which is a parasite on the bad management, the disproportions in distribution, the shortage of goods and services and the chronic illnesses of the national economy.

I must say frankly that our whole system has shown itself not ready for the struggle with this growing phenomenon. The fact that the number of cases of theft, false accounting, bribery, and cases of other economic crimes on a large and particularly large scale which have been cleared up are now decreasing despite a general increase in the number of infringements of the law across the country, is evidence of how serious this problem is.

Within the framework of the emergency measures to improve the economy in 1990-1992, the government considers it necessary to demand that law enforcement and other competent state bodies carry out a set of legal, monitoring, supervisory, organizational, and political measures to eliminate the causes and conditions promoting the operation of the "shadow" economy.

Taking account of the fact that this is a major theme which is impossible to develop in enough detail within the framework of the present report, the USSR minister of internal affairs will report in more detail on that question with suitable proposals.

The creation of a practically new system of financial control and tax inspection with the broadest powers should be concrete steps in that direction. This is an objective factor of the operation of the economy in the new conditions. Comrades! Major shortcomings in the **investment sphere are having a serious destabilizing influence on the development of the economy; many of them are chronic. We take a long time to put up buildings; they are expensive and of poor quality.**

It is the very disruption of plans for the commissioning of many production capacities which in recent years has become one of the main reasons for the growing material imbalance in the national economy.

Against the background of the growing shortage of material and financial resources, when it is extremely important to get the optimum effect from investments, the practice of freezing resources in above-norm uncompleted construction work, which has been condemned on more than one occasion, is still continuing everywhere. The volume of it, by the end of the present year, according to estimates of the State Committee for Statistics, will run to R35 billion. This is approximately equal to the total annual volumes of capital investment in housing construction. What do we see as the way out of the resulting situation?

First and foremost it is necessary to radically reexamine the economic mechanism in the investment sphere. Experience shows that without the provision of incentive and responsibility for end results to all participants of the investment process, we will not succeed in achieving any real improvement.

The USSR Council of Ministers has therefore approved a decision which envisions introducing by 1990 a number of new fundamental regulations on the organization of economic activity in the construction industry. The main thing is the transfer to payments and profit (income) creation for finished construction output and the successive application, starting from housing and other projects from the social and cultural sphere, of the most perfected form of mutual relations between customers and contractors—'turnkey' payments.

Nonrepayable budget financing in the construction industry will be gradually replaced with a long-term bank credit, which will be granted to a customer on a competitive basis under the condition of high effectiveness of planned costs.

At the same time, it is necessary to bear in mind that the new economic mechanism in the investment sphere, as in other industries, will not develop by itself in one day. Therefore, not only economic, but also administrative levers will have to be used in the transition stage.

As is known, the state centralized capital investments in the production sphere will be reduced next year in comparison with the envisioned 5-year plan by R27 billion. The volumes of these investments will not increase in the years 1991-1992.

This extraordinary measure will inevitably lead to a restriction of the opportunities to build up production potential in the majority of industries, with the exception of the agro-industrial complex and industries connected with the production of consumer goods.

Consequently, the main task for the next 3 years is to ensure such a redistribution of investments to construction sites, which would enable the commissioning of capacities and projects to be speeded up. Calculations show that to achieve this it will be necessary to reduce by 1992 the number of projects simultaneously under construction by 25-30%. Such a concentration of capital investments will enable additional projects with a total cost of R20 billion to be brought into operation in the first 2 years of the 5-year plan period, will enable "uncompleted" projects above the permitted norm to be correspondingly reduced, and will enable the reduction in investments in the national economy to be substantially made up for through this action.

The experience of recent years shows that enterprises that have switched over to financial autonomy and self-financing, at the same time as substantially increasing the extent of their own funds directed toward construction, are dissipating an enormous amount of capital investments.

One should bear in mind that there is a strict interconnection between state centralized and noncentralized capital investments: the same construction organizations conduct work on both types of projects, and the material resources may also be switched from one sphere to the other.

Thus, the measures undertaken to concentrate the centrally allocated investments may turn out to be ineffective if the necessary procedure in the noncentralized sphere is not guaranteed at the same time.

Therefore, the government proposes to implement in 1991-92 two measures to limit the extent of works financed from noncentralized sources.

They are, in the first place, the introduction into the budget of specially earmarked payments for new construction work and the expansion of the existing enterprises to the extent of 25-30% of the estimated costs of the installations. Moreover, under these payments benefits will be set for enterprises producing, processing, and storing agricultural produce and also for those manufacturing consumer goods and domestic appliances and providing services.

The second measure proposes banning enterprises from commencing—using their own funds—industrial construction projects with a construction period longer than 2 years. The purpose of this is to accelerate the return from the resources invested.

Naturally, the restriction of industrial construction will require developing and implementing measures on remodelling some construction organizations. At the same time, it creates favorable prerequisites for improving the true balance between the capacities of contract organizations, the volume construction and assembly work, and material resources.

Considering that in the new conditions of economic management the center still retains the drawing up of plans for contract work only with regard to state-order construction projects, the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and local bodies are able to make broad use of the free capacities of contract organizations to construct facilities in the sociocultural sphere, ecology, the agro-industrial complex, light industry, and the services sphere. All this opens up real possibilities for the development in the republics of a contract work market.

One of the key aspects for improving the economy is its **balance of materials.** We can all see that over the last 2 years the state of affairs in respect of the material and technical provisions for production has clearly deteriorated. What is the reason?

The most widely-held view is that it is because of the imperfect character of the state order. Let us recall that the state order was criticized 2 years ago throughout the country because it was too large and did not allow enterprises economic independence. The state order was reduced, and then the criticism began from other angles.

It is not a matter of the size of the state order but of how well the economic and legal conditions for an efficient functioning of wholesale trade and the market in means of production as a whole have been prepared. It is the lack of coordination existing in this regard that is the main reason for the lack of balance in the national economy.

The question arises as to how things are to be in the future. Above all, this concerns the years 1991-92, since next year the structure of the plan as a whole and the state order, in particular, has already been determined, and from 1993 the market is due to become more and more tangibly developed.

In the first 2 years of the 5-year plan period it is necessary within sensible limits to use the state order for the output which determines the proportional character of the national economy, the balanced nature of the key areas of the country's development, and scientific and technological progress. That part of output that would not create a global danger of unbalanced economics but at the same time would be sufficient for a start to the establishment of market relations ought to be left for free marketing.

An analysis of this matter has shown that there should be a differentiated approach in this respect.

First, stemming from the importance of the problem of plentifully supplying the consumer market, the state order to enterprises for the production of consumer goods must be fixed in the first 2 years of the 5-year plan, as in 1990, in terms of cost, in volumes ensuring a balance between the planned trade turnover and the resources of goods, while with regard to the key range it must be set in kind.

Second, in the fuel, chemicals, timber, paper and pulp- and wood-processing industries, and in metallurgy, and also with regard to key types of building material and house-building items, we are embarking on a reduction of the state order to 90%, excluding special purpose raw and other materials.

In this connection, with regard to the output of machine-building and other processing industries, the state order ensures a tie-up, with the size of the state order being set for the consumer complex and the base branches of industry.

I would like to stress in particular that the limits on distribution of resources will be established only on output produced within the capacity of a state order. Everything else is both marketed and acquired by way of free trade. Both manufacturers and consumers must realize this.

However, the shaping of a state order is just one side of the problem. There is another side, no less important and acute, and that is its inclusion by enterprises in full measure in their plans, and the discipline of fulfillment. Here the situation is developing in a less than favorable way. However, one must not forget that economic independence is also a matter of high responsibility. We do not, however, have this at the moment.

That is why it is proposed by 1990 to work out and introduce a system of sanctions for an enterprise's unfounded refusal to accept a state order, and at the same time—and this is very important—they must be recovered from the consumer (self-financing income) fund, so that a collective may perceptibly feel the whole extent of its economic responsibility for meeting the demands of society.

Comrades! **An improvement in the country's currency situation** is an integral part of the general program to improve the economy in 1990-92. During these years the task is being set to stabilize foreign debt, and to embark upon the restructuring of the export-import system and the whole system of organizing and managing foreign economic activity, so that preconditions may be created for the USSR's active inclusion in wide-scale world-economic relations.

One should note that a deficit in the hard currency account balance—that is, an excess of hard currency expenditure over hard currency income—is a special kind of deficit, the most dangerous and destructive of all account balance deficits. Discharging and regulating it is linked to the payment of high interest rates on loans and to the intensification of inflationary processes.

Taking out foreign loans on an ever increasing scale can lead—and this has happened with a number of countries—to economic and political dependence on creditor countries.

It is for this very reason that the government carefully approaches recommendations to increase imports to solve the problems that arise. Here a very considered policy that has been thought out in-depth is needed.

In the first instance, measures are needed that are aimed at a sharp reduction in the purchasing of those types of produce, for the effective production of which the objective prerequisites exist in the USSR. This relates to large purchases of rolled ferrous metals, pipes, paper, and several types of chemical produce. In the next few years it is planned to cut the imports of them approximately by half, and also to decrease centralized hard-currency allocations sharply. One of the very important points of this program is to introduce order into the use of imported equipment.

To develop exports and overcome their orientation toward raw materials is a key task in making the hard currency situation in the country healthier.

In the long term, emphasis is being placed on broad development of new technological processes for thoroughly processing raw materials and semifinished products in the fuel, metallurgical, and timber industries, particularly in such regions as Western Siberia, West Kazakhstan, and the Far East. Already in the next few years, concrete measures are to be implemented to increase exports of machinery, equipment, and other items.

With a view to consistently switching enterprises over to principles of currency self-recoupment—and this is our firm policy—there are plans to introduce, beginning in 1991, a new order for forming their currency funds, having made the standards for allocations to them directly dependent on the volume of products being exported and the export structure.

The socialist countries, particularly the CEMA countries, hold an important place in our foreign economic ties. At the current time, many difficulties, mostly due to the imperfection of the mechanism, have emerged in the development of cooperation with them. We are seeking ways of resolving this issue. Here, the creation of a combined market of the CEMA countries is a promising direction. A proposal is being made to transfer trade cooperation with them, beginning in 1991, to current world prices, and to payments in freely convertible currency.

Comrades, those are the main provisions, out of the entire multitude of measures concerning the tactics of our actions for the recovery of the economy in the years 1990-92, on which I would like to dwell.

IV.

Now to strategy, to fundamentally new approaches to the formulation of the 13th 5-Year Plan.

In this section of the report I consider it necessary to define the conceptual frame which, if one may express it this way, will hold the entire philosophy of the new 5-year plan.

When defining our position with regard to the prospects for the development of the national economy, we should answer first and foremost the main question: What are the specifics of the coming 5-year plan, proceeding from which our views on selection of goals, priorities, and national economic proportions should change?

In other words, it is necessary to take account of the entire logic of the perestroyka processes in the economy in connection with the change in the forms of ownership, with the delegation of rights from the center to the localities, with the development of market relations, and with the social reorientation of the national economy and much else.

The main demand here is, while resolving major social issues, not to depart from the realities of life, to evaluate the possibilities of the state in a balanced way, not to run ahead, and at the same time to consistently overcome current problems. Account must be taken absolutely of the fact that the scale and time frame of the social transformations and the growth in the people's prosperity depend directly on increasing the efficiency of social production. This is the first point.

The second point is the specific features of the forthcoming 5-year plan, with its fundamentally new relations between the center and the union republics, as well as the bodies in the localities and their transition to principles of self-government and self-financing beginning in 1991.

In their turn, the union republics are to formulate in 1990 the entire mechanism for mutual relations with krays, oblasts, and national formations, and in many republics with rayons. The expansion of independence for republics and local soviets is to come about not at the expense of, but in parallel with the development of independence for enterprises.

In conditions of the action of new economic laws, the image and the parameters of the 5-year plan will be determined by the projections of enterprises, regions, and union republics.

The third point is a review of the entire methodology for elaborating the plan, proceeding from approximation and account being taken of the real possibilities of regions, to such social standards as the level of provision of housing, kindergartens and nurseries, schools, health establishments, and the level of consumption of foodstuffs and non-food goods.

The program-and-goal-orientation method of planning also should occupy a worthy place. This applies to the elaboration of programs on the problems of young people, and of improvements in the positions of women and the family, and the protection of motherhood and childhood.

Fourth, requirements for the national economic plan are being toughened in connection with the invigoration of ecological policy. The 13th 5-Year Plan must be a watershed stage on the road to the attainment of the necessary level in the state of the environment in the localities, where the permissible standards for concentrations of harmful substances have been greatly exceeded today. A serious restructuring of all environmental protection activity will be required. I would highlight the problem of creating new, ecologically safe technologies and equipment, and of strengthening the scientific base of research in this sphere. Simultaneously, one must change attitudes toward the utilization of natural resources, and particularly of nonrenewable resources.

The final point: As the national economy recovers and the necessary economic prerequisites are created, the regulation of foreign economic activity will change radically; economic and legal instruments will more and more come to replace directive methods.

I want to single out some directions in the work for the development of foreign economic activity, directions that will make it possible to obtain the quickest return.

Thus, along with the creation of joint enterprises, there are plans to unfold the large-scale utilization of nontraditional forms of foreign economic cooperation, and to more actively attract foreign capital so as to decide the tasks of structural reorganization and the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. The issues pertaining to the creation of joint enterprise zones with privileged operating conditions are currently being studied. Such zones can play an important role in stimulating an influx of the latest scientific-technological achievements and of progressive methods.

This and much else, including the gradual transition to convertibility of the ruble, will promote the active involvement of the USSR in world economic contacts. Here one must add a change in the economic relations with the CEMA countries.

Such approaches to the formulation of the 13th 5-Year Plan should ensure the orientation of the economy toward primary satisfaction of the material needs and spiritual requirements of Soviet people at all stages of its elaboration. This is the main thing that determines the entire logic of the program proposed by the government for the years to come. At the same time, the proposals and recommendations of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Commissions and Committees were taken into consideration.

What specifically lies behind the fundamental approaches to the 13th 5-Year Plan, and what needs to be done in order to realize them efficiently?

First, regarding the social reorientation of economic development. Calculations show that in order to achieve results that are tangible to the people during the 13th 5-Year Plan, especially in the next few years, it is necessary to increase in 1995 the production of goods of Group "B" [consumer goods] by approximately R100 billion, or by 39% compared to 1990.

All this will enable one to place a material foundation beneath higher rates of increase in real incomes than in the past. The growth in incomes per capita in the 13th 5-Year Plan will amount to 17%. The growth by more than R150,000 million in the resources of the consumption and nonproductive construction fund planned for the 13th 5-Year Plan will enable the financing, to the sum of R57,000 million, of a package of new centralized measures to improve the people's living standard. This primarily involves phasing in the laws on pensions and on leaves, increasing stipends, and giving more material assistance for mothers and young children. Generally, all this can have a palpable effect in the near future on the living standards of the population strata with the least social protection.

During the 13th 5-Year Plan, the policy of seeking to balance the solvent demand of the population and the supply of goods and services will be implemented consistently.

This is first and foremost a question of foodstuffs. According to the calculations for 1995, we need to have somewhere in the range of R205,000 million to R210,000 million of foodstuffs in current retail prices. The anticipated output of foodstuffs in the current year is R142,000 million. See for yourselves—one third is missing. This means that people will feel an improvement if each year the increment will be at least 5-6%.

A stable growth in food resources must be provided for both by increasing the volumes of production in agriculture, and by deepening the processing of agricultural raw materials, by reducing losses and by augmenting the quality of output.

The supply of the population with nonfood goods will be consistently improved in the 13th 5-Year Plan. For this, output of them must be increased by 60-70%, including a 30% increase in light industry goods. The volume of retail trade turnover must grow by 1.4 times and must amount in 1995 to between R600,000 million and R620,000 million. Paid services available to the population are to increase by 1.6-1.7 times.

It is envisaged that the material and technical base of the social and cultural sphere will be substantially strengthened. All sources of financing are to be used for this purpose. The commissioning of housing in 1991-95 is to attain 900 million square meters, or to increase by almost 40%. It is planned to construct and commission preschool establishments with a capacity of 4 million places. This, and also the implementation of the adopted decisions on extending child-care leave to 3 years, and the implementation of other measures, will make it possible to satisfy the population's needs in preschool establishments by the end of the 5-year plan.

The commissioning of general education schools with a capacity of 12 million places, compared with 7.8 million places in the current 5-year plan, seems a feasible task, and this will make it possible to reduce the teacher-pupil ratio in general education schools down to that corresponding to the norm. Special attention is to be paid to rural schools.

In developing health care, the strengthening of its preventive orientation, the enhancement of the level of medical control for working and living conditions, a sharp increase in supplies of medicines and medical equipment, the strengthening of the base of physical culture and sport, and the ensurance of ecological security will become the main directions.

For the purpose of creating qualitatively new possibilities for the ever fuller satisfaction of Soviet people's growing cultural requirements, introducing all the strata of the population to cultural values, protecting historical and national sacred sites, and developing varied forms of leisure and spontaneous creative activity, large-scale measures aimed at further strengthening the material and technical base of the establishments of culture and art, cinematography, the press, television, and radio broadcasting are to be implemented.

We must take care to preserve and creatively develop the most varied cultural heritage of all the peoples of our country, and promote fruitful interaction between our culture and the general tide of world civilization, while seeing our task in consolidating the moral foundations of society and asserting the humanism of our socialist homeland.

These are the proposed approaches to shaping a social program for the 13th 5-year period. Its implementation presupposes the unswerving and efficient development of public-sector production. Only on this condition can one expect that the measures mapped out for raising the people's living standards will be implemented.

If one translates all this into figures, there is the need to increase, within the 5 years, the produced national income by 25% and the productivity of public-sector labor by 29%.

It is natural to ask: What will make it possible to raise the productivity of the public-sector labor by 29%?

We are fully aware that without developing the production of the progressive output of the machine-building complex, hi-tech equipment, and the means of production for turning out consumer goods, and also without the output required for modernizing the production apparatus, which is becoming obsolete, of basic industries—one has in mind, first of all, the output of machine-tool building, electrical engineering, instrument building, computer technology, and electronics—the task will not be solved.

Therefore, it is envisaged to increase by 46%, within the 5 years, the output of such productionm which will exceed in 1.4 times the pace of development of the rest of the machine-building complex.

Production in fuel and raw material industries will be stabilized and will even be falling. Over the 5-year period, the pace of growth in the economy's processing sector will be approximately double the pace of growth in production in these industries.

When implementing the unprecedentedly large-scale move for the benefit of the social sphere and putting a brake on basic industries, one will also have to take into account the fact that the restriction of their development should have a temporary nature and reasonable limits. All this must not result in undermining the material base of the economy and, at the same time, requires that efficiency be increased and resource-saving sharply enhanced.

Calculations show that to attain the balanced and dynamic development of the production and social spheres in the conditions that are taking shape in reality for the 13th 5-year period, there is a need to reduce the material consumption of public-sector production at least by 4-5%, the power intensity of the national income by 12-13%, and the metal consumption by 20%. These figures are high and the tasks are complex; but even when they are met, indices for the resource-consumption of public-sector production will be substanially lower than those already attained by international practical experience.

In preparing the 5-year plan, the parameters of scientific and technical progress and the mechanism, which stimulates the receptivity of industry to innovations, proposals of inventors and rationalizers in the changing economic environment, are to be worked through especially carefully. Priority development to fundamental research and the creation of scientific and planning and design reserves for the changeover to qualitatively new highly effective technologies are to be ensured. To this end, it is proposed to increase the volume of financing of science from all sources 1.3 times compared to the 1990 level.

Taking into account the development trends of world science and technology, it is necessary to concentrate—on a national scale—resources in such priority areas as the computerization of all spheres of human activity, the technological revolution in the sphere of the production of foodstuffs, the creation of new building materials, the assimilation of ecologically safe sources of energy, and utilization of the phenomenon of high-temperature superconductivity.

Comrades, the role of the conversion of the defense complex is to be raised substantially. Along with the fact that we should give everything necessary to our Armed Forces and ensure a sufficient level for the country's defense capabilities, taking into account the new defense doctrine, its scientific and technical and production potential must be used to the maximum for technically reequipping the national economy, above all, the light and medical industry, the agro-industrial complex, trade and public catering, and also for the production of high-quality consumer goods.

The potentials of the defense industry sectors will make it possible to strengthen the structure-forming nucleus of the national economy, consisting of such science-intensive sectors as electronics, production of computer technology, information systems, and systems of communication of new materials, and the aerospace industry. Their development should become the pivot of the restructuring of the national economic complex.

At the present time a draft state program of conversion for the period up to 1995 is being worked out, the implementation of which will make it possible to tangibly increase the contribution of the defense complex to normalizing the country's economic situation. Considerable work in implementing this plan should be done in the years 1990-92.

The granting of priorities is required for civilian production in the defense complex in combination with the appropriate review of the structure of orders for armaments and military equipment. In particular, there will be a fall in the volume of output and deliveries of individual types of offensive weapons. Unique capacities that are released should be used as far as possible for the manufacture of the latest civil aviation aircraft, modern ships for the merchant navy and fishing fleet, and so forth.

Overall, the picture for this complex will be fuller if we cite the following data. Given an overall 45% growth of volumes of production in 1995 compared with 1989, deliveries of military equipment will decrease by nearly 20%, while output of civilian production will increase by 82%. Its proportion in the overall volume of output of this complex will exceed 60%.

These are the fundamental approaches to the formation of the aims and priorities of the country's socioeconomic development in the 13th 5-Year Plan. On their approval by the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the government will organize the elaboration of the state 5-year plan and present it for examination by the USSR Supreme Soviet in autumn 1990.

Comrade people's deputies, summing up the above, I want to stress in particular: The main task of the 13th 5-Year Plan lies in achieving the reorientation of our economy, in directing its whole potential to serve Soviet man and satisfy his material requirements and spiritual needs. The government sees the essence and significance of its program in this and this alone.

However, we cannot ignore another extremely important circumstance. The implementation of the proposed measures cannot but help depend on that environment in which the economy will operate, and on situations and phenomena which labor collectives and various sections of our society encounter, because today, also, in many instances, the national economic situation is failing to be stabilized owing to rapidly developing and sometimes extremely contradictory processes in different regions of the country.

Whether or not we wish to admit it, radical reform and many transformational designs often go into a tailspin because two attitudes opposite to perestroyka—nonacceptance and impatience—come together. This sometimes engenders various currents knowing no permitted limits, and sometimes negative and extraordinarily acute outbursts of public opinion, interethnic strife, group interests, strikes, and other impeding and disorganizing maifestations of a similar kind.

The practicality of the planned major social transformations directly depends on the ability of all of us together and each individually to work economically, rationally and effectively. Here trust should not be placed only in the strength of administrative and economic methods. It is important that an atmosphere of trust, a favorable moral climate, and a creative disposition be created in society.

The government sees the whole complexity and contradictoriness of the stormily-developing processes. The program of economic recovery should be directed to the consolidation of all the forces of society for the sake of carrying out the by-no-means easy tasks of the renewal of society and the country's confident emergence onto the road of progress.

I ask the Congress of Peoples Deputies to support the government's program. (applause)

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[Speech delivered by V.A. Ivashko, deputy from the CPSU (member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee), at 13 December sitting of Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies! The situation in the country is extremely acute. Perestroyka has now reached a peak of tension. In these conditions both capitulation in the face of difficulties and excessive radicalism bordering on political adventurism are contraindicated. Resolute but constructive actions are needed. In this sense the program submitted by the government defines realistic ways of improving the economy and must, in my view, be supported.

I wish to note that the provision in the USSR Council of Ministers report on fundamentally new relations between the center and the union republics and between the union republics and local soviets in connection with the switch to the principles of economic autonomy is in accordance with the urgent demands of perestroyka. After all, the economic sovereignty of republics is today an essential condition of increasing the efficiency of social production. On the other hand, it is also a very important element in the strengthening of statehood. At the same time let me stress that we cannot conceive of the development of a sovereign Ukraine outside the USSR. We have been and will remain loyal to the idea of our strong union state.

While supporting the proposal contained in N.I. Ryzhkov's report on the principles, basic guidelines, and stages of economic reform, I would like to make a few points.

First. Historically, it has come about that in the structure of the Ukraine's gross national product, three-fourths of the volume comes from basic sectors, where the production of national income per working person is one-third to one-half lower than in other sectors. Consequently the switch to regional economic accountability will produce smaller social benefit for us. It is highly necessary, in our view, for the USSR Council of Ministers to tackle the development of a mechanism to compensate for such structural discrepancies in each republic.

If we want to achieve rapid progress in the country's economy, a new system of economically valid wholesale prices is urgently necessary. Nikolay Ivanovich, however difficult it may be, this system must be created no later than the first half of next year, and brought into operation from 1 January 1991. At the moment this is, so to speak, the "Achilles heel" of our economic reform, and without new, economically valid prices it is pure fantasy to talk about real economic accountability. Many illustrations could be cited to this effect. If you take purchase prices for agricultural produce, as far as the Ukraine is concerned, they do not stimulate production of sugar beet, meat, or milk. We have these prices to "thank" for a paradox: Despite lower prime costs, we have the lowest profitability. This not only puts the republic in a disadvantageous economic position, but is simply contrary to the very idea of economic accountability, and I think this should be stopped.

Second. In examining the problems of economic accountability we proceed on the basis of the principle of the organic link between economic autonomy for regions and full economic accountability for enterprises. What is most important here? First and foremost, the speediest possible development of diverse forms of social ownership and new economic relations, and the establishment of true socialist enterprise. All this must, in our view, be channeled primarily into the rational utilization of the resources at our disposal. After all, our material costs per unit of national income are at least 50-100% higher than in the capitalist countries. That is an enormous reserve.

It cannot be said that we are not working to reduce these costs. In the Ukraine, in 4 years the resource-saving program has given us R5 billion. That looks like a good figure, but today an entirely different approach is needed. Entirely new progressive technologies and a new technical level of production are needed. And given that need, what do we find? We find that fundamental science and questions of long-term scientific and technical policy have in recent years remained on the "sidelines," so to speak, of economic development in our republic. Furthermore, in the course of the enterprises' transition to economic accountability and self-financing their inclination to reject scientific and technical innovations, far from lessening, is in fact intensified, since attention is concentrated (let us be frank) on "squeezing out" profit at any price. It must be admitted that the new mechanism for financing scientific research operations not only fails to stimulate the development of fundamental research, but in effect holds back that process. Contract prices today predetermine the sale of tested solutions by science to production, and no one will pay good money for something new, which sometimes entails economic risk. And so not many people will do anything new. It seems to us that in finalizing the program for improving the economy the USSR Council of Ministers should devote more attention to scientific and technical progress and to economic factors for acceleration. In particular, perhaps, it is necessary to make provision for exempting from taxation that part of profits that are channeled into the development of scientific and technical progress, or at least establishing some kind of concessionary system.

Comrades! The draft laws on ownership, land, and so forth that have now been submitted for nationwide discussion will determine the country's development for many years to come. This is indisputably the foundation for economic transformations. But it is necessary to be well aware that it is only the foundation, and we still need the walls and roof to make up a durable economic edifice. And different kinds of bricks need to be built into that edifice.

It must be admitted frankly that we are still living in the conditions of a departmental economy. This economy itself generates a departmental approach, which we will never be able to abolish by means of any single decree. What we need here is something else: the pooling of the efforts of enterprises in various sectors for the targeted and, if you like, urgent production of the products that the people most need, beginning with goods in daily demand and ending with badly needed machines for the agrarian complex. In our view the government program should without fail include incentives for the formation of associations, amalgamations, consortiums, and joint-stock companies on an interdepartmental basis—to include defense enterprises—and on an interregional basis. The formation of joint enterprises with foreign firms should be tackled more resolutely. People often talk about the lack of currency, but what we do have is something else—production space, resources, which, as has been said, are at present being used unbelievably badly. Our republic is gradually acquiring experience of cooperation with foreign firms. And we are pursuing a line of settling accounts with our foreign partners not with raw materials, but with finished products obtained from the more efficient utilization of raw materials on the basis of progressive technology.

The same approach could produce practical results in a comparatively short space of time in the resolution of the food problem. I wish to dwell on just one brief point here. There is talk of stopping grain imports. But that means producing more. Do we have the potential to do so, or not? Yes, we do. Last year alone we bought more than 11 million tonnes of corn abroad, on which we spent huge currency funds. Practice shows that this expense could be spared if things were properly organized. We have here at the Congress USSR People's Deputy V.A. Plyutinskiy, who last year, together with the "Pioner" firm, set up an enterprise for the production of early-ripening corn hybrids. They can be grown in our Polesye, in Belorussia, and in many regions of Russia. In the Ukraine alone, on the basis of these and other factors, we think we can double grain production, bringing it up to 14-15 million tonnes a year. An enormous reserve, all you have to do is get things moving.

It is well known how much agricultural produce is lost because of the shortage of storage capacities. We support the government's planned measures for the accelerated development and reequipping of processing sectors. If everything that is produced was processed efficiently, the country would receive an enormous increase in food supplies. By way of illustration, two figures. More than 53 million tonnes of grain was grown in the Ukraine this year. That is more than a tonne per person. That is the biggest crop in the republic's entire history. Some 52 million tonnes of sugar beet was purchased, which is also the highest indicator. Incidentally, all this was done by collective farms [kolkhozes] and state farms [sovkhozes], which some people who sit in warm city offices are calling on us immediately to disband and abolish, and that absolutely must not be done. The kolkhozes could produce considerably more. It is only necessary to increase their allocation of material resources, accelerate social development, and improve living conditions in the countryside.

Of course, this does not in any way rule out other progressive forms of economic activity. Take sugar beet, for instance. The differences in sugar content in our republic amount to something over 4%. If we could only extract another 1% of sugar, that would be an additional half a million tonnes. But we cannot, because we are "spilling over" into the new year, and the sugar content is being lost. What a colossal reserve that is—half a million tonnes of sugar!

At the same time we can see an important reserve in the development of not only large-scale, but also small-scale processing, which should be created on an interfarm basis at the kolkhozes themselves. I think this should be reflected in the government program.

A very acute problem for our republic and for the country as a whole is ecology. First and foremost, there is the elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl tragedy. This work was launched energetically from the very first days. More than 100,000 people were evacuated promptly, and more than R4 billion has already been spent. A decision has now been adopted on the accelerated evacuation of inhabitants from several more settlements in Kiev and Zhitomir Oblasts.

But comrades, the problems remain, and in a number of respects are getting worse. We must all realize that. I therefore propose that concrete measures to resolve these problems be added to the government program. It is first and foremost a question of a statewide program for strengthening social protection for the entire population that was affected by the accident and for those who took part in eliminating its consequences. After all, there are many thousands of those people, and they live all over the country. Perhaps a special USSR Supreme Soviet resolution should be adopted on this.

In speaking of urgent tasks we must not for a moment forget about the long term, about common human values. In our society, which is now so rich in shortages, one of the most serious shortages, with the gravest consequences, is the shortage of culture. Many of our ills and difficulties are due to the fact that people lack moral, political, economic, and spiritual culture. Unfortunately this shortage cannot be said to be lessening. Real culture, as you know, is costly, it requires substantial material backing. But are not we ourselves cutting off the oxygen supplies to spiritual rebirth by mentioning culture in the government-proposed measures only "in parenthesis," and education only in passing? Questions of the protection of mothers and children and the strengthening of social protection also certainly require considerably greater attention from society. After all, this is our future, comrades, and you cannot live without a future.

Soviet people want to see our congress first and foremost as a source of hope, not tension. That requires statesmanlike wisdom, thoughtfulness, and the highest sense of responsibility from every one of us. It is also obvious that today, as the government is adopting resolute measures to emerge from the crisis, it must be supported, the USSR Council of Ministers must be given normal working conditions and granted time to carry out its plans. Here I entirely agree with Comrade Novozhilov. Constructiveness, consolidation, discipline, and conscientious labor—that is what our society needs today. In Lenin's words, thus will we conquer.

Belorussia's Kovalev

PM1412151589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5

[Speech by USSR People's Deputy M.V. Kovalev of Polotskiy National-Territorial Electoral Okrug (chairman of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic Council of Ministers) at 13 December sitting of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Deputies! We are currently experiencing a truly difficult period. Moreover, if we look truth square in the eye, we face a no less complex period in overcoming the crisis. In which direction should we move ahead? Which short- and long-term measures should take priority? How will these measures affect working people's position and the people's living standard? These questions are now of concern to everyone.

One of the merits of the report and the document submitted for our examination is that we have been offered alternate options for the strategy of developing the country in the next 5-year plan and in implementing the economic reform. It seems to me that the very acuteness of the prevailing situation prompts us to abandon the first two options—based on a gradual resolution of the most important social tasks—and choose the third option, which proposes the immediate implementation of a range of measures aimed at meeting people's urgent needs.

This option orients us toward real work to accelerate the social reorientation of the economy and, no doubt, ultimately to resolve the most urgent human needs. If, in the first years of the next 5-year plan, we are able—as outlined by this option—to raise the share of national income resources used for current consumption and nonproduction construction to 90%, thereby ensuring 25-percent national income growth over the 5-year plan, it will be a truly major step on the road of economic perestroyka. I would ask deputies to agree with this proposal.

Of course, there is also a definite risk that Group "A" industry will be developed to a lesser extent during this period. Nonetheless, we need to embark on the accelerated option, although we will have to monitor all developing processes as it is implemented. We must elaborate the program for the 13th 5-Year Plan guided by common sense and without divorcing ourselves from existing realities. The question of how many stages this should take is perhaps not the most important point—it is highly debatable. The most important point is something else—the program must embody entirely new approaches utilizing the positive experience of perestroyka and boldly rejecting anything that runs counter to society's interests.

What am I thinking of? Above all, we must instill order in the national economy and raise discipline and responsibility for the mandatory fulfillment of state targets at all levels. This too should be envisaged in the range of measures to improve the economy. Another thing which, to my mind, should be done immediately is to strive for the real rather than imaginary restructuring of the entire system of material and technical supply. Let's stop deluding ourselves that we will soon be able to switch to wholesale trade. We have "tried out" such a transition and can say that nothing will come of it for the time being. In a situation of severe shortages of raw materials, spare parts, and components the only way out lies in strict distribution, leaving for the trading system only those resources which are currently available. Subsequently, as the supply of these resources increases, we can expand the range of wholesale trade. This applies primarily to direct economic ties. Under the conditions of shortages and monopolies, which we have in this country, such ties have turned into out-and-out extortion. Many examples could be cited of enterprises refusing to conclude contracts for shipments, demanding in exchange hard-to-come-by equipment, materials, and even hard currency. We must put a stop to this. We must elaborate and introduce a corresponding mechanism to regulate the customer-supplier relationship.

But, for me, the most unacceptable aspect of the current situation is the proposal aimed at scrapping forthwith our existing economic management institutions and moving to market relations. These institutions must be improved, yes. But the transition to market relations should be gradual, with compulsory state, legal, financial, and economic regulation.

Unfortunately, among the specific measures aimed at improving the economy we can see few which would indeed promote a sharp increase in the production of foodstuffs. In general, certain proposals are based on the unrealistic potential of our agrarian sector. In the next 3 years it is planned to increase meat production by 10% and milk production by 8% across the country. It can be said straightaway that this forecast does not prompt much optimism. There is even less confidence about the fact that it is planned to obtain more than 60% of the growth in foodstuffs through the intensive processing of agricultural raw materials using progressive technologies. Our processing industry is very backward. We will need the next 5-year plan to bring it more or less up to modern standards. The planned growth in foodstuffs from intensive processing is clearly out of kilter with reality.

The document under examination lays the main emphasis on the social restructuring of the countryside. Of course, this is necessary and correct. But, comrades, without devoting the proper attention to the production development of agriculture, there can probably be no question of any growth—let alone planned growth—in agricultural output. I base that statement on a specific example. In the last 5-year plan we channeled more than 80% of all capital investment allocated to the agro-industrial complex into the production sphere. And we obtained approximately an additional 7% per year in gross output in the public sector. We have had to cut investment in production development in the current 5-year plan—by up to 63% in the current year—and as a result we are obtaining virtually no extra output. We also believe that it was a mistake not to allocate capital investment on a centralized basis for land reclamation and agrotechnical work. Under our republic's conditions land cannot be used productively without land reclamation—otherwise we will annually experience a reduction in agricultural land. And a republic that has lost full use of around 20% of its agricultural land as a result of the Chernobyl disaster cannot afford the slightest reduction in that area.

But we do not only have to restore affected land, we must create normal living and working conditions for hundreds of thousands of people. That is why the republic has drawn up and submitted to union organs a state program on this question, in the belief that it should be fully included in the all-union program and implemented as a separate section of the 13th 5-Year Plan with the allocation of the necessary resources.

Comrades, as regards the saturation of the market with consumer goods, a great deal depends on our common position. I am thinking of local organs, industrial enterprises, and ministries. I would like to quote the following example. We are trying to maintain a supply of goods in the republic, if only at a minimum level. Until recently we have managed, albeit with difficulty, to balance our monetary income and our supply of goods. I think that we will manage to end the 5-year plan without printing any money. We have been helped by a measure which we developed at the very beginning of the 5-year plan and have constantly monitored ever since. It is aimed at ensuring that all enterprises, irrespective of their specialization, start producing consumer goods. They have been set the target of producing goods under an itemized product list agreed with local organs to a value at least equal to the sums of money paid out in wages. As a result of this measure we annually supply the trading system with hundreds of millions of rubles' worth of extra goods. And in the first 4 years of the 5-year plan this has allowed us to withdraw almost R500 million from circulation. I think that in this situation it would be appropriate to implement this measure throughout the country as a whole.

The way out of the crisis lies in concrete work. This will be a reliable guarantee of the fulfillment of the proposed program for the stabilization of the situation in the national economy. I propose supporting the measures proposed by the government, taking account of the remarks made by deputies.

RSFSR's Vlasov

*PM1412145389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 Dec 89 Second Edition p 5*

[Speech by Deputy A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Ministers from Rostovskiy National-Territorial Electoral Okrug, RSFSR, at 13 December sitting of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies! The range of questions under discussion at the congress is extensive; the spectrum of opinions expressed during the pre-congress debate is broad. It seems to me, however, that we all agree on one point—the knot of problems and contradictions accumulated in society will be impossible to untangle unless the situation in the national economy radically changes for the better.

Today there is perhaps no shortage of prescriptions on how to extricate the country's economy from its state of crisis. The most diverse and at times diametrically opposed opinions are expressed, including some that are extremely radical and even openly antisocialist. The program proposed by the government is distinguished by its considered and constructive choice of ways to achieve economic recovery. The way it has defined the nature and sequence of the stages in the implementation of economic reform also appears substantiated. It is a fundamentally important fact that the program envisages major structural changes in favor of significantly increasing the share of consumption in national income. This ought to ease tensions in the supply of foodstuffs and goods and the provision of services. This is what Soviet people expect from us today.

Such an economic shift has a special meaning for the Russian Federation. Due to historical circumstances, heavy industry enjoyed preferential development in the republic's national economy. The share of Russia's social product represented by consumer goods today is approximately half the required level. As a result of past distortions and the not always justified pursuit of growth rates, the social sphere has come to lag chronically. We also have other problems, exceptionally acute problems which brook no delay, and the adoption of the government program will create more favorable conditions for their solution.

The neglect, economic weakness, and continuing extinction of many of central Russia's large and small villages are a matter of nationwide anguish. We must fundamentally change our practice and our actual attitudes toward the opening up of the unique wealth of the Far North, Siberia, and the Far East, where to this day we have failed to provide normal conditions for people's life and to preserve and develop the original cultures of indigenous peoples living there. Not to mention the barbaric attitude toward fragile and vulnerable nature in the North. The ecological situation is steadily worsening in the republic as a whole. No one is going to solve these and many other far from simple problems on our behalf today.

We do not intend to level recriminations at anyone or submit bills for payment. In this context, I would like to note that Russia has always had many protectors and still has quite a few of them today, sincere people whose hearts ache for their motherland. But a different kind of people have also emerged who, while lamenting about Russia, denigrate it and underestimate the republic's real creative potential and the Russians' patriotic dignity and ability to rally when the going gets tough. All this potential has still not been properly tapped. And the Russian Federation's Government, together with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet and many USSR people's deputies from the republic, must do some active work to ensure that it is mobilized to the utmost.

In the course of perestroyka, people's sense of being masters of their land and destiny is being gradually revived. New opportunities in this direction are emerging with the enhancement of the republic's economic autonomy and sovereignty. As you know, the first and exceptionally important steps have been taken along the path of enhancing Russia's status and expanding its political sovereignty. Work is now unfolding increasingly actively at the local level to prepare the republic and its regions for the transition to the principles of self-management and self-financing. A concept of leadership of the economy and social sphere of the republic as a whole has been formulated in practice. Naturally, life constantly makes amendments to this work. Specifically, fundamentally new relations are taking shape between the center and the republics, as well as between the republics and the regions.

There are important new elements in the published draft laws, primarily those on ownership and on land. The USSR Law "On Economic Autonomy for the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR], Latvian SSR, and Estonian SSR" is a real fact. All this makes it incumbent on us to examine many things from a different angle than that used until quite recently, including questions concerning the Russian Federation's economic and political sovereignty. First and foremost, we are faced with the question of equally beneficial equivalent exchange between republics. Each year, foreign trade apart, the Russian Federation exports raw materials and fuel and energy resources to a total of up to R25 billion, while importing consumer goods to a total of up to R45 billion. Consequently, the RSFSR loses a weighty part of its revenue because, according to the most favorable estimates, wholesale prices for raw material resources have been halved while they have increased substantially for most consumer goods. This topsy-turvy system of wholesale prices certainly needs to be reviewed. It is a fact of considerable importance that our prevailing and persistent illusion that natural wealth comes cheap does not encourage the saving of resources and pushes industry along the extensive path of boosting extraction or, to put it more simply, the path of squandering.

Another question demanding the closest of attention is the elaboration of a normative base to ensure real self-financing. I support Comrade Ivashko, who raised this question in the Ukrainian context. But whereas this is more in the nature of a worry for the Ukraine, its meaning for Russia is: Should there be or should there not be self-financing and self-management under regional economic accountability. It is indeed impossible to overlook the fact that almost two-thirds of the republic's territory—the Far North, Siberia, and the Far East—are regions where per capita costs to provide amenities for people's life are double or triple those in the country's European part. Today, in 28 of the republic's territories, expenditures exceed incomes by R12 billion. A downright paradoxical situation develops at times. At present, for example, Yakutia and Magadan Oblast—which, as you know, are foreign currency producers for the country—exist on subsidies from the republic budget. Each year these so-called parasites extract diamonds and precious metals which bring billions of rubles into the exchequer. And the local budget receives just a few million. Yakutia's local budget receives just R30.5 million from the diamond industry. It is obvious that you just cannot talk about any kind of self-financing here.

Briefly speaking, we firmly support the government proposals for a review of wholesale prices, price lists, and purchase prices and for a comprehensive reform of pricing and time limits for its implementation. At the same time, we would deem it necessary to accelerate the elaboration of differentiated normatives for determining republic and local budgets. Only in these conditions will it be possible to coordinate state and regional interests and to create the necessary incentives for local soviet organs and for enterprises themselves to develop production.

I would especially like to emphasize that, while supporting the idea of expanding the republics' economic autonomy, we are firmly in favor of strengthening the country's integrated national economic complex—in favor of genuine equality and harmonization of relations between republics, with unconditional priority given to all-union interests. Some people might imagine that such serious problems can be resolved only on the basis of market relations and direct contract relations, but we hold a different viewpoint. It stems from the need for mutually advantageous production sharing between republics, with the center acting as coordinator and guarantor of the fulfillment of their commitments. It is equally important to improve relations between republics and the center, especially concerning the solution of priority socioeconomic tasks. This means primarily the food program. Full responsibility for the solution of this problem, the implementation of the new agrarian policy, and the provision of social amenities in the countryside now rests with the union republics. This is correct. At the same time, much still depends and will continue to depend on the center. Today this applies primarily to the whole of investment policy and material resources. It must be bluntly said that the 1990 plan has still not succeeded in ensuring priority development for the agro-industrial complex, as agrarian deputies demanded. This task must be solved during the 13th 5-Year Plan period, come what may, and it must be really treated as being of paramount importance.

In our opinion, the proportion of material and financial resources for the development of the agro-industrial complex during the new 5-year plan period must be commensurate with the contribution made by this most important sector to the country's national income and, at the initial stage, it might even be greater. We are facing especially acute questions concerning the retooling of agriculture and the processing sectors in particular. I share the anxiety of Deputies Ivashko and Kovalev. I would also like to emphasize that we will fail to solve the food problem unless we resolve today the questions of accelerated modernization and retooling of the processing sectors. This problem will remain acute also in the 13th 5-Year Plan period. Judge for yourselves. Russia has major sectors of the agro-industrial complex' processing industry. But the state of the meat, dairy, butter, sugar, and confectionery industries is lamentable. Suffice it to say that the proportion of decrepit fixed capital there runs at more than 40%, while the replacement of worn-out and obsolete equipment proceeds no faster than 6% a year. We have been unable to achieve a breakthrough in this important work.

The fulfillment of the program for the construction and modernization of units producing complete equipment packages is unsatisfactory. In order to ensure the planned volumes of overall growth (and this is basically down to processing sectors) and boost the growth of foodstuffs through the comprehensive processing of raw materials and the reduction of losses, it is necessary to review production volumes, reduce delivery times for new equipment as much as possible, and pool the efforts of all those involved in resolving this task.

Comrade deputies! Many of the planned economic recovery measures are geared to tomorrow, as the saying goes. But life has already presented us today with a series of unexpected and at times explosive problems. Contractual discipline is declining sharply, while parochialism and group and regional selfishness are intensifying. Deliveries of agricultural produce to all-union and republic stocks have virtually disintegrated recently. Many industrial centers like Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, and Tyumen and a number of regions in Siberia and the Far East are in a critical situation in terms of supplies of meat and some other foodstuffs. Evidently, we will not be able to manage without immediate—I would even say emergency—measures.

In the address to the Soviet people which was published yesterday, the CPSU Central Committee shares the working people's justified concern over the decline of discipline and the spread of economic mismanagement and sloppiness. The Russian Federation's Government will wage a consistent, resolute, and uncompromising struggle against this social evil. We believe that this is the only way to implement the program we are discussing today. On the whole, the proposal by the USSR Council of Ministers ought to be approved and, taking the discussion into consideration, an appropriate decision by the congress ought to be adopted on this question.

Economist Popov Criticizes Government Program

LD1312180189 Moscow TASS in English 1741 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—The most forceful criticism of the Soviet Government programme for economic recovery was voiced in remarks by Gavriil Popov, editor-in-chief of the VOPROSY EKONOMIKI (ECONOMIC PROBLEMS) journal at the Congress of People's Deputies today.

One of the co-chairmen of the Interregional Deputies' Group (which some people in the parliamentary lobby unofficially refer to as "left radical opposition"), he is known for his articles advocating the introduction of a market economy.

Challenging the provisions of Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov's report, Popov maintained that the new-five year plan is in the same spirit as previous plans.

The apparatus, he said, conceded only one thing—the amount of funds it is prepared to allocate for social needs.

The entire approach to the new five year plan proceeds from the right to determine the country's life from the centre, Popov said.

But it is precisely this idea of administrative socialism that, in his view, led the country into crisis.

Popov is prepared to support many of the urgent measures being suggested by the government.

However, he said he regards them with caution. The economist voiced apprehension lest the "administrative narcosis" should drag on for years.

He maintained that the "market cannot be introduced gradually." Proceeding from that, he called on deputies to reject the government approach to the new five year plan.

"Our eminent scientists quite often make unrealistic proposals and get bogged down in endless arguments while the state of affairs continues to deteriorate," Nina Dedeneva, a weaver from Omsk, Western Siberia, representing the Soviet Women's Committee, said during the discussion of the government report.

"Many now seek to accuse everyone and thereby remove the blame from themselves for the current lack of order in the state," she remarked.

"People cease to believe in perestroika because the difficulties have only increased while a period for overcoming them has become too long."

"It is time to get down to business. There should be no more slogans," she said to loud applause.

Proposals to establish a free market "would bring us back to the beginning of capitalism," said Kazakhstan party chief Nursultan Nazarbayev.

Besides, he believes, this would inevitably lead to the break-up of the existing production ties and soaring inflation. Therefore he described the government-suggested version as the most acceptable one.

At the same time Nazarbayev criticized some provisions which, he thinks, insufficiently take account of the specific conditions of the Kazakh Republic.

Ligachev Stresses Socialism in Food Production

LD1412171789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Deputy Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has made an analysis of the situation in the agrarian sector of the country. He said, inter alia:

[Begin Ligachev recording, during a break during evening session of 13 December Congress of People's Deputies] The search for new solutions is underway also in the agrarian sphere. Indeed, the food problem is really the touchstone of perestroyka. Polemics are going sharply. Voices are being heard claiming that agriculture has allegedly come to a deadend and that the country is on the threshold of famine. And some people believe that the way out of the situation lies in peasant small holdings and no other way. Allow me, comrades, to express myself on this problem.

Last year, for the first time in all their history, on collective and state farms more profit was obtained than state funds were invested here. The average annual harvest of grain in the course of the first 4 years of the current 5-year plan period amounted to more than 206 million tons more. But at the same time, I would like to stress that we were again obliged to purchase from abroad approximately 35 million tons of grain.

But it is not, in the final count, a matter of percentages or figures but the situation on the food market. Indeed, the acuteness of the food situation in the country, especially with meat products, is not abating but is intensifying. I want to report to you, comrade deputies, that in accordance with the decisions of the March plenum of the party Central Committee, throughout the country work has been embarked upon for restructuring the production relations in the countryside, broad introduction of financial autonomy, contracting, leasing and cooperatives. Democratic principles of management instead of command are now really entering into the life of the countryside. We base ourselves on the fact that collective and state farms are not some kind of frozen form of management. Already quite a few collective and state farms are becoming cooperative lease collectives. I remind you, there are thousands of agro-livestock farms, agro-combines, and agro-industrial associations in operation. And all this is yielding definite results. I want to remind you, comrade deputies, that in our country the main volume—74% to be precise—of the food fund is formed by the collective and state farms. The remainder—that is, about 24%—are provided by family farms, or what are otherwise called private farmsteads, which are, incidentally, an organic part of the socialist system of agriculture.

The priority form of socialist ownership, in my conviction—and I wish to express my own point of view—should in the future, too, be public ownership of the means of production or state and cooperative enterprises, amalgamations, and associations, and, I should like to stress once more, private ownership in the form of family farms integrated with them.

Often the following question also arises: How can it be explained that production of labor in our agriculture is considerably lower than that of the farmers of capitalist countries or of, say, the peasants of the East European socialist states? The reason, comrades, is clear: It lies in the weak technical provision of the agro-industrial complex and the social organization of the Soviet countryside and, I would say, the ossification of production relations of collective and state farms. Of course, alongside the strengthening of material base, we must do everything so that the Soviet peasant really becomes the real master of the land and the real master of the results of his toil. I am profoundly convinced that without the material-technical and social replenishment of the agrarian sector we will not solve the food problem. Not for nothing is it said: If things go bad for the peasant, then things cannot go well for society. [end recording]

TASS Reviews Second Day of Congress

LD1312202789 Moscow TASS in English 2019 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Today, the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies that opened in Moscow on Tuesday began to consider the key item on the agenda—an economic recovery programme presented by Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov.

The government sees a way out of the current complexities in a consistent implementation of the economic reform which is planned to be carried out in two stages.

A package of extraordinary measures will be taken during the first stage (up to 1992) to overcome the budget deficit and the consumer market imbalances.

The reform's second stage (1993-1995) will be based on a diversity of the forms of property, their equality and competition as well on the development of market relations.

The government rejects such 'recipes' as denationalisation of industry or revival of private ownership.

During the ensuing debate, the government's concept on the whole was supported by aircraft designer Genrikh Novozhilov, Russian Federation Prime Minister Aleksandr Vlasov, Belorussian Prime Minister Mikhail Kovalev, Igor Gorynin, director of a Leningrad institute, and by a number of other deputies.

The most forceful criticism of the Soviet Government programme for economic recovery was voiced in remarks by Gavriil Popov, editor-in-chief of the VOPROSY EKONOMIKI (economic problems) journal, and by Kazimeras Antanavicius, staff member of the Institute of Economics of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences.

Popov, challenging the provisions of Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov's report, maintained that the new Five Year Plan is in the same spirit as previous plans.

The Lithuanian economist advocated denationalisation of a number of branches of the economy, rejecting the entire government of reform.

Many other deputies had a different approach. They perceived in such proposals a call to go back to capitalist ways. A spinner from Omsk, Western Siberia, called for moving from discussions concerning questionable proposals to practical deeds to improve the people's life.

Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, arguing against proposals to revive private ownership of land, spoke of wide possibilities of the collective farm system.

A total of 17 people spoke in the debate today. On Thursday the discussion of the report will be continued in three panels. Such form of work is a novelty in the activities of the Supreme Soviet forum.

An editorial commission of the congress was formed at the end of today's session. It is headed by Vadim Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party's Central Committee.

Gorbachev, Ryzhkov Comment During Break

LD1412164589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] I now wish to familiarize you with what breaks in the congress sessions are like. Today, for instance, during a break in the evening session of the congress, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzkov chatted with a group of deputies. Listen to an excerpt from a recording of this meeting.

[Begin recording] [Ryzhkov] We must not become detached from the soil.

[Unidentified speaker] Yes, yes.

[Gorbachev] No, there will be some, there will be some period, when...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] Mikhail Sergeyevich, 3 years, well, for 3 years we will keep on this way.

[Gorbachev] The ship will roll and pitch a lot.

[Ryzhkov] Yes, yes.

[Gorbachev] And everyone will feel sick. And that's it.

[Ryzhkov] We have [word indistinct]. We have tried everything.

[Unidentified speaker] There can be no centralization, and that alone [words indistinct].

[Ryzkov] Correct.

[Unidentified speaker] But management between...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] Both things.

[Gorbachev] [Sentence indistinct] We have introduced an equilibrium between local initiative and the center administratively, by plan, by whether or not to make resources available, or whether or not to make capital investments available, and so on, many things; prices were strictly regulated. Now other mechanisms must be used to tackle this task. But, you know, we still...we need to invent these other mechanisms in our country. We...[changes thought] very much everything, even our tax system, is ill thought-out. Take banks, the credits system, and the entire financial system, it is altogether neglected. That is not something we need. [passage omitted on scientists's remarks on proof of theories]

This is what I will put to you: No one will prove the theory without practice. This is because things need to be checked.

[Scientist] But we put you, the government and the leadership, in a position in which you check the life of people. This is impermissible.

[Gorbachev] It is particularly scientists who should not become publicists.

[Unidentified speaker] Honest scientists.

[Gorbachev] Work must be done.

[Unidentified speaker] Thanks for being firm. [end recording]

Ryzhkov Gives Interview Before Congress Address

PM1412124189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed "Mini-Interview": "N.I. Ryzhkov: "I Am Expecting a Constructive Debate"'—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Frankly speaking, we did not intend to interview the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers before his [13 December] address to the Congress [of USSR People's Deputies]: We were aware that he could not feel like talking to the press at that precise moment. However, seeing Nikolay Ivanovich making his way to the hall of sessions, we could not resist it...

[Correspondents] The government report has been distributed to the deputies in advance. What is the aim of your address?

[Ryzhkov] I will focus only on the key provisions of the report in my speech. Why? In order to initiate a constructive, businesslike debate. I expect and hope that it will not be purely negative, purely critical. If the deputies do not like certain controversial provisions, let them go ahead and criticize. But together with the criticism let us have also constructive proposals: We are prepared to examine and discuss them. I am hoping for constructive criticism—that is the way to optimum solutions. A totally negative attitude and confrontation are no good to anyone, as we were able to see for ourselves on the first day of the second congress. It is just a waste of time, an extravagance, which we cannot afford. Without a constructive debate we will not be able to achieve the results which people expect from the Congress.

[Correspondents] It seems, Nikolay Ivanovich, that you are assuming in advance that there are provisions in the government program which will provoke deputies' displeasure?

[Ryzhkov] Let me put it this way: There is a number of our proposals to which responses will clearly be ambivalent. Some people may say that our measures to improve the budget are too drastic: We are planning to bring it back to a normal level within 2 years. Agrarians, on the other hand, may insist on the introduction of new purchasing prices as early as 1990—which was the original plan, incidentally. I am firmly convinced that this cannot be done. It is impossible to divorce purchasing prices from wholesale prices, from tariff alterations, and other measures. They must be adopted as a whole. We have done our sums, so to speak, over and over again. We cannot handle this question in a way which would mean that we would have to return to it again tomorrow. There are also other problems on which, I believe, questions will arise. This is no catastrophe. The main thing, I repeat, is that the proposals are constructive, that they benefit the cause.

Ryzhkov Discusses Government Economic Program

LD1312224489 Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Excerpts] As you may have heard in the news, the Congress of Peoples' Deputies of the USSR has started vigorous debate on the government program for an economic upturn. Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov made a report. The economy's transition to new managment methods, to market relations, is going to be carried out in two stages, each 3 years long. Most speakers supported the program. At the same time, many critical remarks were voiced.

Now how did the prime minister react to the criticism? Radio Moscow's reporter, Boris Markovnikov, put that question to Nikolay Ryzhkov during a break.

[Begin Ryzhkov recording in Russian fading into English translation] I believe I was very articulate in explaining my attitude to the transition to a market. You must have noticed that the government had three options: suspending economic reforms and preserving the old system for some time; introducing market relations at once; or choosing an interim model. We set our eyes on the interim option. We believe that we must not slow down the economic reform by any means. Nor shall we plunge into a market economy without preparation, without having a mechanism of control. Doing that would really spell death. Just imagine this. In 1990 we tell everybody from now on there'll be no centralized distribution of resources, try to find them on your own. What will happen then? I'm not going to frighten anybody but that would be a real economic crisis. People won't be able to work for 2 or 3 years.

Let me say it again, I'm not scaring anybody. That's my point of view. We must move at a certain speed and not dash forward recklessly. That would be too dangerous to society. The government program puts a great emphasis on the peoples' needs.

When will one be able to feel changes for the better, our correspondent asked the prime minister?

I believe that if we work well enough changes for the better will occur already next year. In 1991 and 1992 there's going to be serious improvement. This is particularly true of consumer goods production. Next year we will plug 100 defense plants into the production of consumer goods. They will make a major contribution in

1991 for certain, but to achieve that there must be concerted action by all, said the prime minister, Nikolay Ryzhkov. [end recording]

Foresees 'Changes for Better' in 1990

PM1412121989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1

[Interview in Moscow 13 December with N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by unnamed person: "N.I. Ryzhkov: This Is Our Firm Position"]

[Text] After yesterday's morning session [of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies] we asked N.I. Ryzhkov to comment on the course of the debate on the report that he had just delivered.

[Ryzhkov] So far only a few people have spoken, and the whole debate still lies ahead. But I can point out with regard to the speeches that have already been made: Particular questions and major problems are being raised. For example, on the introduction of new purchase prices for agricultural products as early as next year. I believe that 1990 must be used in order to make careful preparations for this. In the course of "critical muscle flexing" rebukes can be heard both from the rostrum and here in the lobbies with regard to tardiness in going over to market relations... I expressed my position quite clearly with regard to the switch to the market. There were three options. One was to slow down economic reforms for a while... The second was radical—to go over to market relations without delay. We chose the middle option, for we believe that on no account must we slow down the economic reforms on the one hand, but neither must we rush headlong, without regulating mechanisms, into elemental market forces, which would be suicidal [smerti podobno].

[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA] Nikolay Ivanovich, when will people be able to feel changes for the better?

[Ryzhkov] If we do real work next year, it will already be possible to feel something.

Gidaspov Rejects Accusations of 'Conservatism'

LD1312173889 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Leningrad Communist Leader Boris Gidaspov has rejected newspaper accusations and claims by composer Rodion Shchedrin at this morning's session of the second Congress of USSR's People's Deputies, about the "conservatism" of the Leningrad party organisation.

Now that the political situation in the Soviet Union is particularly acute, Leningrad Communists are doing a very important thing averting confrontation beween various forces of society, the first secretary of the Leningrad regional and city committees of the party told journalists during a break at the congress.

"What the party organisation in Leningrad is doing now," he added, "can be described as liberal conservatism or conservative liberalism. But this movement towards unification of all forces may serve the cause of perestroyka."

"I belong to the happy breed of people who were the first to support Gorbachev and I stick to these positions," Gidaspov said.

Denies Organizing Leningrad Rallies

PM1412102289 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[Report by V. Abramov, A. Gamov, S. Karkhanin, and Yu. Nikolayev on their interview with B.V. Gidaspov, chairman of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies Credentials Commission, under the rubric "We Comment on a Rejoinder": "An Irrelevance"; interview conducted after the Congress of USSR People's Deputies 13 December morning session]

[Text] The morning session of the congress began with an incident: After B.V. Gidaspov had delivered the report of the Credentials Commission, a deputy uttered this rejoinder from the auditorium:

"Are the functions of chairman of the Congress Credentials Commission and organizer of the Leningrad Communists' rally compatible?"

During the break we met with B.V. Gidaspov and asked him to comment on this rejoinder. This is what he said:

I may be putting it rather sharply, but it's like this: They are talking irrelevant twaddle. The functions of chairman of the Credentials Commission and the functions of secretary of Leningrad Oblast Party Committee [obkom] are completely different. They attribute to me the very high honor of being organizer of the rally, or at least its inspirer. In fact, that is not so. The initiators of the rally were the rank-and-file Leningrad Communists, as they are usually called, the party committees of a number of our biggest industrial enterprises, mainly in the defense sector, and it would be wrong and quite impermissible for the Leningrad City party committee, the obkom, or indeed a rayon party committee to remain aloof from such a significant event and not to try to channel it in some specific direction.

It seems to me that people are trying—some of them deliberately, and some because they are ill-informed—to put a strange interpretation on the events taking place in Leningrad. The scenario, bluntly, is like this: to isolate Gorbachev from the Central Committee and Gidaspov from the Leningrad party organization. Here the aim is to set the Central Committee and the party organizations against one another and contrast their positions. After all, I used to be a scientist, and as chairman of a scientific council I usually used to reject such methods categorically. The style goes like this: Attribute to your adversary some view that you yourself have invented, and then criticize it very successfully.

In Leningrad today a great many political forces have sprung up, and the party organizations have also spoken out clearly. It is good that the party workers are not now sitting quietly in their offices, but have taken to the streets. I think this is a very great positive contribution to the cause of perestroyka. There has never been any question of counterposing one line to another. To be convinced of that you need only pick up LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA, which published the Leningrad Communists' platform.

Our program contains three main features. The first is the accelerated democratization of the party and the handover of a number of functions of central party committees to the primary party organizations so as to involve every communist in the formulation of strategic decisions. The second is the further democratization of our society, that is, involving the largest possible number of working people and all strata of society in the formulation of strategic decisions that affect Leningrad, and perhaps even the whole country. And the third group of problems we are studying is the radical acceleration of economic reform on the basis of the creation of new forms of industrial organizations.

Of course, during rallies emotions sometimes go too far, and I disagree with many of the things that are said. The same can be said of some of the slogans that appear there. But I think we have sufficient inner conviction and sufficient inner strength simply to ignore such things. As for those who very much want to find some kind of defect in our position and in our system of actions and to drive us back into our offices, I do not think there is any need to waste time on that.

Maslyukov, Lukyanov React to Ryzhkov Report

PM1412133989 Moscow TRUD in Russian
14 Dec 89 p 4

[Report by special correspondents N. Kishkin, V. Konstantinov, B. Leonov, and A. Pankov: "Effecting Economic Recovery More Rapidly"]

[Text] Kremlin Palace of Congresses—Economic problems in the country are very acute now, really blatant, and it is natural that the people's deputies and probably all voters were waiting with particular hope for N.I. Ryzhkov's report on measures for the recovery of the economy. And now the 90-minute speech by the head of government is in the past. What are the first impressions? Have hopes been justified, is certainty emerging that we shall start to live better and more stably in the immediate future?

It seemed to us that the deputies answered our questions eagerly and honestly. We could sense sincere anguish over our common setbacks and the desire to defend voters' interests and justify their hopes. But the variety of opinions was very broad. For instance, here is what Nizhniy Tagil worker deputy V.A. Yarin thinks:

"My impression of the report was a good one. A sober assessment of the situation in which the country's economy finds itself and of what we must do. We must not be divorced from realities. Nikolay Ivanovich put it well when he said that if we break everything all at once today we will end up with chaos. I also believe that the government has calculated everything which must be done initially. Of course, we can criticize and add something constructive, but we must begin to do the job and to implement the government's schemes."

In the opinion of V.I. Matviyenko, chairman of the Committee for the Affairs of Women and Family, Mother, and Child Protection, the government has for the first time gone to the country with an integral concept for an economic platform reflecting both emergency measures for economic recover and long-term issues and the sequence for resolving them. The deputy believes that in general that is how we should have begun the economic reform 4 years ago. But there are also many doubts and things which the report failed to satisfy. There was still no direct reply to a number of acute questions raised by the population. In practice all commodities have been in acutely short supply and whether things will be better in 1990 and whether we will remove the tension on the market is hard to understand from the report.

The deputy also doubts the feasibility of the measures proposed. For instance, it is planned to increase the production of consumer goods very substantially. I should very much like to believe in the feasibility of these proposals, she said, but we know from bitter experience that the most wonderful programs have been adopted and have unfortunately not been implemented. Much of what has been said sounds to me rather like wishful thinking and far from everything is back up by our economy's real potential. That disturbs me very, very much.

A number of deputies believe that the government program does not adequately examine nontraditional approaches toward developing the economy and, they say, they can even detect a certain fear of embarking on the resolute breaking up of methods which have taken shape. On the very first day the deputies' varying approaches toward ways of developing a market economy were voiced. Deputy M.V. Kovalev, head of the Belorussian government, believes that the transition to market relations must be implemented gradually, without the immediate dismantling of the existing economic management structure. But Deputy G.Kh. Popov, who spoke from the same rostrum, adheres to a different view: Either there is a market or there is not, you cannot introduce market relations gradually.

The subject of the deadlines and pace of the introduction of new approaches into the economy was heard particularly frequently in the corridors of the Palace of Congresses. Here is the opinion of another economist, deputy P.G. Bunich:

"We are still afraid of unfamiliar terms and we are delaying practice steps. For instance, we are afraid of the words 'private ownership.' Yet it is not a case of words. If we allow leased enterprises to share the development fund among the people and if each person can take his share with him when he leaves the plant—then what is that? We say that it is not private ownership. But in reality what kind of ownership is it? That is why the debate here is not about the essence but about terminology. Sooner or later I am sure the new name will comply with the new content. So we should not be seeking terms but bringing new relations into operation as rapidly as possible. I have just been talking with the minister of finances and he told me that they have not yet begun to work out new taxes for lessees. That means that the lease will not work in 1990. Or financial recovery measures. There are more than enough of those. The figures have been calculated but whether they are realistic or not is hard to say. After all, conversion has also been calculated, but in reality is proceeding far more slowly than proposed. Conversion is very expensive. A video recorder produced at a defense enterprise costs 2-3 times more than one manufactured at a specialized civilian enterprise. There will be an increase in output but there will also be an increase in expenditure. It is important to consider all this."

Impatience—that perhaps is the feeling which is influencing the atmosphere in society and the deputies' position. Indeed, people are tired of waiting. How should we treat this impatience and what impact will it have on forthcoming decisions? In the intermission we approached A.I. Lukyanov with these questions.

"We must assess soberly the realities of our life," he replied, "and take an attentive look at our potential. We have impatience in society and that is understandable. We ourselves, the party Central Committee and the government, would like to do everything as quickly as possible. But we must be responsible and act in a considered way. We have no other path."

The TRUD correspondents put the same question at a press conference to Yu.D. Maslyukov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. Here is his reply:

"I see only plus points in society's impatience. I also have this attitude toward those who would like to have positive results more rapidly. But unfortunately it is impossible to put such a country and such an economy on a new footing in a single hour or day. That must be realized. That is why a whole complex of measures has been proposed beginning with stringency measures and measures of an administrative nature which may perhaps even squeeze our financial turnover and our market relations to some extent and force enterprises to be more careful with state resources, and measures for capital construction and so forth. At the first stage it is essential to bring everything into line with the production forces development level which has taken shape. But even now market relationships should begin to operate and to no extent do we intend to place obstacles in their way. We put the question like this: The market should be an inalienable part of our system of economic management. But here we still place the planned regulation of the market at the head of this process because if the market is allowed in front of state regulation straight away, that means plunging the economy into chaos and leading it to disproportionate development. And hence crisis phenomena are inevitable. And the most terrible thing which we particularly fear here is that the socially underprivileged section of the population—pensioners, people on fixed wages—lose so much during such a transition to uncontrolled market relations that I fear it will be worse than the 1929-1933 world depression..."

And so there are very many problems facing the congress. It is up to the deputies to choose the path and they are ready to seek it. It is no accident that by 1200 hours over 300 people had already put their names down for the debates on the government report and over 100 people had expressed the desire to speak in the sections, which will work today.

Maslyukov Says No Overnight Economic Recovery

LD1312175589 Moscow TASS in English 1747 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The Soviet economy cannot be put on a new footing overnight, Soviet Deputy Premier Yuriy Maslyukov stressed at a news conference in the Kremlin today.

The government's proposals therefore envisage the preservation of administrative measures at the initial state, which will temporarily limit market relations. The market should become an inalienable part of the economic management system, with the emphasis on its planned regulation, he said.

Maslyukov was speaking after Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov outlined a government programme for economic recovery at the Second Congress of Soviet People's Deputies.

The government's programme actually has two states, Deputy Premier Lev Voronin added. A market will appear and economic account elements will be introduced between 1990-1992. Economic management methods will come to replace command-and-administrative methods between 1993-1995.

Maslyukov touched upon the prospects for cooperation between the member-countries of the Council for

Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). CMEA has justified itself, he said. It retains its importance and stability, but it is necessary to increase its efficiency. The Soviet Government therefore proposes to organise mutual deliveries between CMEA member-countries on world prices and in hard currency.

Speaking of aid being given by the USSR to foreign states, Maslyukov rejected the assertion that its annual volume was 12 billion currency roubles. He said the figure was much less. He said that the Soviet Government intended to consider a decrease in aid to third world countries. This certainly does not concern countries which maintain mutually beneficial relations with the USSR, Maslyukov said.

Comments on Unemployment

LD1312221489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Four of the 10 days of the congress are being set aside for discussion of the key issues on the agenda, discussion of the conception of economic reform, the program for revitalizing the country's economy. Today in the interval between the sessions a briefing was held on the government report. Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov and Lev Alekseyevich Voronin, first deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers, were there to meet the journalists. One thousand two hundred Soviet journalists and 400 foreign journalists are taking part in covering the work of the congress. It was only with difficulty that enough room was found in the small hall of the press centre for all those who wished to ask questions and share their impressions. What interested the journalists first and foremost?

[Begin recording] [First unidentified correspondent] What changes in prices or price reforms are planned at the present time? What stages are specially concerned with market prices and food prices?

[Maslyukov] During 1990 a reform like that will be drawn up. It will moreover be drawn up in the first half of the year, so that the new 5-year plan can already be planned in new prices, and starting with 1991 new wholesale prices can be introduced on manufactured goods and purchase prices on agricultural produce. And only after that as those prices are introduced there will be a transition to reform and to the introduction of new systems of retail prices, retail trade.

[Second unidentified correspondent] When will the routine CEMA session take place?

[Maslyukov] The next CEMA session is to take place in early December because it is in connection with the congress—excuse me, early January. How can it be maximally effective? Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov has put forward two approaches out of that group that we are preparing: The first is mutual benefit and calculation in current world prices; and the second is a transition to calculations in freely convertible currency.

[Third unidentified correspondent] Is it likely that unemployment will appear in the Soviet Union to considerable extent?

[Maslyukov] Well, I will tell you this. According to our calculations there is no threat to the Soviet Union of unemployment in the 13th 5-year plan. The production sphere is being reduced by 5 million people. And the nonproduction sphere is to increase by 4 million people. This means that we are preparing for economic reform, changes in production relations, that is, structural changes in industry which may lead to...[changes thought] and incidentally, in the Central Asian republics an excess of manpower is already being observed, and I would say even the beginnings, let's say, of unemployment. Therefore this problem greatly disturbs us, and one of the programs that should be worked out is the problem of distribution of the productive forces, the problem of retraining the population and the problem, where necessary, of placing this population in jobs, and what is more, the problem that arises when a person is without a job; then there must be the minimum necessary contribution so that he or she has the support of the state during the period when they are looking for a job. [end recording]

Congress of People's Deputies Agenda Published

PM1412092389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Congress of USSR People's Deputies 13 December Resolution "On the Agenda of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] The Congress of USSR People's Deputies resolves:

To include the following items on the Second Congress agenda:

1. On recognition of the credentials of USSR people's deputies elected since the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Report by the Credentials Commission.

2. On measures for economic recovery, stages of economic reform, and fundamental approaches to the elaboration of the 13th 5-Year Plan. Report by the USSR Council of Ministers.

3. On the introduction of amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution (Fundamental Law) on questions of the electoral system.

4. On the Standing Orders of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet.

5. On draft legislative acts defining the status of people's deputies in the USSR, the status of USSR people's deputies, and other questions associated with deputies' activity.

6. On the draft Law on Constitutional Oversight in the USSR.

7. Election of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee.

8. On stepping up the struggle against organized crime.

9. Reports by commissions set up by the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies and by the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee on political evaluation of the decision to introduce Soviet troops into Afghanistan, and by the USSR Supreme Soviet commission to investigate the privileges enjoyed by certain categories of citizens.

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Moscow, The Kremlin, 12 December 1989.

N. Medvedev on Accusations of Lies at Congress

LD1312205289 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] I am thinking of the statement made by the Kazimieras Uoka, member of the Supreme Soviet [made at the second Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow on 12 December]. He accused M. Gorbachev, who was presiding at the Congress, of telling a lie. The incident is rather acute and I decided to continue discussing this topic with Nikolay Medvedev, a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, people's deputy from Kaunas. I asked him on the phone if delegates from Lithuania discussed the incident later on.

[Begin recording] [Medvedev] Yes, we did. We have analyzed the information very carefully and indeed not a word was found about the illness of Astrauskas. He was mentioned only as not being a USSR people's deputy. Therefore, Uoka was absolutely right. It is obvious that somebody from the apparatus, in an attempt to smooth the rough edges, had palmed off upon Gorbachev this dubious formulation. This fact can have only one meaning: In this country people have got used to telling lies to the above standing organs without hesitation. This has brought about many of our troubles, this has saturated all our life. We have to get rid of this. Reports going up should be honest and contain nothing but the truth. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] What was the reaction of other people's deputies after the statement?

[Medvedev] When we went to the smoking room the talk was like this: Once again someone somewhere is telling lies and the leadership finds itself in a stupid situation. This was the reaction. It is very sad that in this country lies are told so easily. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Armenian Deputies Ask Repeal of NKAO Decision

NC1412102289 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Declaration by the USSR people's deputies from the Armenian SSR and NKAO at the second congress of the USSR people's deputies on 12 December 1989—ARMENPRES headline]

[Text] The First Congress of USSR People's Deputies instructed the Supreme Soviet to study the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] and to debate the issue at its session. However, instead of the publication and debate of the conclusions of the commission, a draft resolution which was not debated at the presidium was presented for debate in the name of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presudium on 28 November 1989, the last day of the session. The members of the Supreme Soviet were not familiar with it beforehand. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet completely disregarded the views of the fact-finding commission and instead imposed its own resolution and method of debate. In protest the USSR deputies from the Armenian SSR and NKAO felt obligated to leave the hall.

The Armenian people did not recognize that decision and this was reflected in the joint decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Armenian SSR and the National Council of NKAO on the reunification of the two parts of the Armenian people.

The hasty decision passed by the Supreme Soviet did not bring about a mitigation of tension in the region; rather, the situation became worse. Despite the USSR Supreme Soviet's decision, the blockade is still continuing. Acts of vandalism have not ceased and the forced expulsion of the Armenian population has increased.

Convinced that the overwhelming majority of the deputies have not received impartial information about the problem and the prevailing situation in the region, the people's deputies from Armenia and NKAO demand clarifications from the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet about the violations of the democratic norms and procedures during the country's parliamentary deliberations. We hope that the congress will consider the bankrupt decisions of the Supreme Soviet invalid and will take such measures that would command respect towards the parliament.

The declaration was issued by USSR People's Deputy G.Igityan at the instruction of the USSR people's deputies from Armenian SSR and NKAO.

Deputies Walk Out of Congress

AU1312173689 Paris AFP in English 1627 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, Dec 13 (AFP)—Armenian representatives in the Congress of People's Deputies walked out of the session here Wednesday because discussion on a blockade of the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh was not on the agenda, Armenian nationalist sources said.

The sources said the territory, which has been under a blockade since November by nationalists in the republic of Azerbaijan, was now receiving supplies solely by airlift from the Armenian republic.

Nagorno-Karabakh is populated mostly by ethnic Armenians but is located within the borders of Azerbaijan.

The right to control the tiny autonomous region, currently under Azerbaijan administration, is claimed by both sides.

Gorbachev Meets With Deputies

NC1412101189 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0200 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] The deputies' groups from the Armenian republic and Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] did not participate in the 13 December morning session of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

Palagozyan, special correspondent of ARMENPRES, asked Galust Galoyan, USSR people's deputy and secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, to comment on this development. He said that when the congress rejected Supchak's proposal by a majority vote to set up a special commission to study the locations of all the blockades of the Armenian republic and NKAO, the Armenian deputies, who had defended that proposal, decided not to participate in the deliberations of the Congress of the People's Deputies.

In a letter to the leader of the state Mikhail Gorbachev, they specifically pointed out that in view of the prevailing dramatic situation when hundreds of thousands of our compatriots who are still homeless after the earthquake are also suffering under the bitter winter conditions, we, the USSR people's deputies, while upholding the moral principles and parliamentary norms and expressing great respect towards the congress, cannot at the same time condone our future participation in its deliberations. We will remain in Moscow until you, personally, take all the necessary measures to lift the railway and motor roads blockade of the Armenian republic and NKAO.

In view of the prevailing critical situation, the republic's leadership asked Gorbachev for an audience with the deputies of Armenia and NKAO. Such a meeting took place on 13 December at the Kremlin hall of congresses. USSR People's Deputies Suren Arutyunyan, Grant Voskanyan, Galust Galoyan, Zoriy Balayan, Vagan Gabriyelyan, Goar Gevorgyan, Genrikh Igityan, Viktor Ambartsumyan, Sergey Ambartsumyan, Lyudmila Arutyunyan, Sos Sarkisyan, and others took part in the conversation, in which they all freely exchanged views.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, continued Galoyan, showed a profound understanding of the problems raised by the people's deputies. He shared the concern of the people of Armenia and NKAO and assured them that the USSR Supreme Soviet will take the necessary measures to lift the blockade and resolve the ongoing conflict in the region. Gorbachev reminded them that the search for a resolution to the problem must based on common grounds. The Soviet leader endorsed the Armenian deputies' wish to discuss in detail the proposals raised by the deputies' group of Armenia and NKAO at the next USSR Supreme Soviet session after the conclusion of the congress, with the aim of finding a definitive resolution to the people's problems.

Deputies Divide Into Sections To Analyze Report

LD1412073789 Moscow TASS in English 0727 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 14 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Delegates to the Second Congress of Soviet People's Deputies continue to discuss today a government report on measures to revitalise the Soviet economy, delivered by Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov on Wednesday.

Deputies are working in three sections. Each section is discussing a major part of the report—measures to revitalise the economy, stages of the economic reform and drawing up a plan for 1991-1995.

This is the first time debates in the congress are being held in sections. Deputies believe this will enable them to analyse the government proposals more deeply, and to hear more speakers.

The congress will have a plenary discussion on Friday to sum up discussions in the sections.

Members of People's Congress Secretariat Listed

PM1312142389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 89 Second Edition p 1

["Secretariat of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text]

Leader of the Secretariat

Georgiy Korneyevich Kryuchkov, first secretary of Odessa Oblast Ukrainian Communist Party Committee.

Deputy Leaders of the Secretariat

Sergey Borisovich Stankevich, senior scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Sciences General History Institute, Moscow City.

Gennadiy Ivanovich Yanayev, deputy chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions.

Members of the Secretariat

Khardo Yulovich Aasmyae, sector chief at the "Maynor" Planning and Design Bureau of the "Estlegprom" Estonian Territorial Production and Trade Association, Tallinn City.

Derenik Nshanovich Abramyan, chief of the Armenian Teacher Training Institute named for Kh. Abovyan Laboratory for Teacher Training Psychology Problems, member of the USSR Union of Cinematography Workers, Yerevan City.

Dzhumgalbek Beksultanovich Amanbayev, first secretary of Issyk-Kul Kirghiz Communist Party Oblast Committee.

Veniamin Gavrilovich Apostol, chief director of Kishinev's Chekhov Russian Drama Theater, chairman of the Moldavian Union of Theater Workers Board.

Viktor Vasilyevich Gorbatko, major general, chief of faculty in the Air Force Engineering Academy named for N.Ye. Zhukovskiy, chairman of the All-Union Society of Philatelists, Moscow City.

Nikolay Vasilyevich Yermakov, chairman of Tengushevskiy Rayon's "Obnovleniye" Collective Farm, Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR].

Vladimir Petrovich Lushnikov, member of the Soviet of the Union Commission for Labor, Prices, and Social Policy Questions.

Suleyman Farkhad ogly Mamedov, first secretary of Kirovabad City Azerbaijan Communist Party Committee.

Fedor Nikolayevich Martynov, director of the Novovyatsk Wallboard Combine, Kirov Oblast.

Galina Ignatyevna Masko, deputy director of the No. 3 Secondary School, Slonim City, Grodno Oblast, Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

Valentina Ivanovna Matviyenko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for the Affairs of Women and of Family, Mother, and Child Protection.

Mikhail Innokentyevich Mongo, secretary of the Soviet of Nationalities Commission for Nationalities Policy and Interethnic Relations.

Aleksandr Nikolayevich Ovchinnikov, director of Kineshma "Elektrokontakt" Plant, Ivanovo Oblast.

Valentin Ivanovich Ogarok, deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union Planning, Budget, and Financial Commission.

Meretgeldy Orazliyev, painters team leader at specialized small-scale mechanization administration of the "Turkmentsentrostroy" Construction Administration's Construction Department, Ashkhabad City.

Andris Adamovich Plotniyeks, professor at the Latvian State University named for P. Stuchka, Riga City.

Ivan Kharitonovich Romazan, director of the Magnitogorsk V.I. Lenin Metallurgical Combine, Chelyabinsk Oblast.

Masturakhon Sayfitdinova, director of the "Anor" State Farm, Kuvinskiy Rayon, Fergana Oblast, Uzbek SSR.

Galina Vladimirovna Semenova, chief editor of the journal KRESTYANKA, Moscow City.

Valeriy Ivanovich Sergiyenko, chairman of Krasnoyarsk Kray Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee.

Izzatullo Khalimov, first secretary of Khatlon Oblast Tajik Communist Party Committee.

Nazifa Khakimovna Kholamkhanova, cutter at the "Nalchikgorshveytrikotazhbyt" Association's "Dom Mody" Studio, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR.

Temur Nodarovich Chkheidze, television theater artistic leader, Tbilisi City.

Andrey Vladimirovich Sharonov, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Youth Affairs Committee.

Zita Leonovna Shlichite, lawyer with the Klaypeda legal advice service, Lithuanian SSR.

Kayyrly Amenovich Shopanayev, integrated team leader with "Alma-Atakultbytstroy" Trust No 17 Construction and Installation Administration, Alma-Ata City.

CPSU Candidates for Congress Vacancies Ratified

PM1312142989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 89 Second Edition p 2

["In the Electoral Commission for Elections of USSR People's Deputy from the CPSU"—PRAVDA headline"]

[Text] A sitting of the electoral commission for elections of USSR people's deputy from the CPSU, chaired by Comrade V.A. Koptyug, examined the materials of the CPSU Central Committee 9 December 1989 Plenum on the nomination of candidate USSR people's deputies from the CPSU to fill vacancies, and the statements by nominated candidates consenting to stand from the CPSU. The electoral commission established that the nomination of candidate USSR people's deputies conformed with the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies."

The commission registered the following candidate USSR people's deputies from the CPSU:

Pavel Andreyevich Abrosov, born in 1945, fitter at Moscow's automatic lines plant named for the 50th anniversary of the USSR, Moscow City.

Nikolay Petrovich Kustarev, born in 1948, blacksmith at Gorkiy Motor Vehicles Plant, Gorkiy City.

Aleksey Petrovich Shustov, born in 1946, electrical installation fitter at Moscow's "Stankokonstruktsiya" Plant, Moscow City.

Militia Staffer on Congress Security Measures

PM1312161689 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 89 p 4

[Interview with Major General of Militia V.V. Maksimov, first deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) Main Administration for the Protection of Public Order, by A. Dyatlov and N. Pavlov, under the rubric "At the USSR MVD": "Hold Your Session, Everything Is Calm!"—date, place of interview not stated; first paragraph is Dyatlov, Pavlov introduction]

[Text] "Why have they closed Moscow?", "Is it true that all militia leave has been canceled for 2 weeks and additional forces have been brought into the capital?" It is a long time since there were as many questions from readers about the militia as there have been in recent days. It is only natural: The situation surrounding the Congress concerns everyone, and so do the "informal" rallies and demonstrations that will doubtless take place in Moscow and elsewhere in the country during the Congress. With the help of the USSR MVD Press Center, we put these questions to Major General of Militia V.V. Maksimov, first deputy chief of the USSR MVD Main Administration for the Protection of Public Order.

[Maksimov] The congress is indeed the "main story," as you journalists say, for the whole country. That is why in all the cities, especially the major cities, internal affairs subunits have gone over to a stepped-up form of service. But that does not mean, for instance, that "Moscow will be closed" or that "The special forces will look after rallies." As for the "access routes" to the capital, here we are trying to enable transit freight transport to bypass the city, so as to relieve the burden on Moscow.

[Interviewers] And inside Moscow—did they carry out the operations "Law and Order" and "Shield" to "relieve" Moscow of the "criminal element"—specially in time for 12 December?

[Maksimov] I would not call these measures operations: Such campaigns are carried out regularly, not only to coincide with visits by high-ranking guests or congresses—it is an ordinary preventive measure: We have done work to prevent infringements of the law among juveniles, and there have been measures to combat the purely criminal element.

[Interviewers] Have you received information that extremist groups, including criminal groups, are trying to reach the city during these days?

[Maksimov] The Congress probably attracts primarily those affected by national problems. For instance, a group of inhabitants of Saratov Oblast who do not agree with the creation of the Volga Germans' autonomous formation there has arrived. People from South Osetia want to ask the deputies for help in stabilizing the situation in the region... On the eve of the Congress a fairly large number of refugees from Armenia came to the Supreme Soviet reception room. They blocked traffic on one of the busiest boulevards—Kalininskiy Prospekt. But we do not by any means classify all these people as "extremists"—they are voters going to see their deputies to tackle really serious problems. Although we do not rule out the possibility that there will be some who want to provoke disturbances.

[Interviewers] All the same, there are bound to be incidents?...

[Maksimov] You are referring to the latest action by the "Democratic Union"?

[Interviewers] Yes, a much-publicized story...

[Maksimov] I think they were simply trying to provoke another clash with the militia. That is why they came to the center, although they were given permission to hold a rally at Luzhniki. As a result it was necessary to remove them from the square. 22 people were arrested, but many were simply warned, and administrative proceedings were taken against some. In general, the story is familiar from previous "Democratic Union" rallies.

[Interviewers] Many people wonder, are there any special measures to protect deputies? Special traffic routes, escorts...

[Maksimov] They do not need special routes: The Congress participants are staying next to the Kremlin. But if they go out to rallies or meetings, of course we provide a State Automobile Inspectorate escort and security measures along the route. I regard that as normal.

[Interviewers] Of course, they are our deputies. And one last question: How do you assess the "criminal" situation in Moscow today?

[Maksimov] You know, intensive duties and an increase in the number of patrols always has a good effect on the situation, and in "crime" terms the situation is calmer in Moscow at the moment. We are trying to do everything to enable people to work normally—both in the capital and in the Kremlin.

Supreme Soviet

Nishanov on 'Preparatory Work' for Autonomy

LD1312171789 Moscow TASS in English 1633 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow December 13 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

Rafik Nishanov, chairman of the Council of Nationalities, one of the chambers of the Soviet parliament, has stated that there is so far no decision by the Supreme Soviet on the restoration of the autonomous republics of Soviet ethnic Germans and and Crimean Tatars.

Commenting on today's report in the West German newspaper FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, Nishanov explained that this question had been considered and that the Supreme Soviet had recognized the need to restore these peoples' autonomy.

With this end in view the government on November 28 was instructed to set up a commission to work out stages for the restoration of autonomy.

"It would be wrong to say that a decision on the restoration of autonomy was taken. To be more exact, preparatory work is being done," Nishanov said.

"The elaboration of the question of the establishment of autonomy is needed. A ten-year programme for their accomodation and relocation, for example, people cannot be just expelled from the area for other people to live there, he said.

Nevertheless, Nishanov said, "the ice has begun to break and the beginning of the process has been set. We are working on the establishment of such autonomy", he stated.

Privileges Commission Debates Cars, Pensions

PM1312125189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 2

[V. Afanasyev report: "Official Transport: Routine Session of the Privileges Commission"]

[Text] A routine session of the USSR Supreme Soviet commission on the privileges enjoyed by certain categories of citizens was held 10 December under the chairmanship of Ye.M. Primakov. On this occasion it examined the question of the use of official vehicles by officials. A report was delivered by M.S. Shkabardnya, USSR Council of Ministers administrator of affairs, who acquainted people's deputies with the government's viewpoint on the problem of maintaining the official car pool. Suffice it to say that, according to various estimates, these cars cost the state between R10 billion and R17 billion a year. In view of the complex state of the economy, the Council of Ministers has decided not to allocate new vehicles for the needs of the administrative apparatus in 1990.

Deputies came to the conclusion that the USSR Council of Ministers resolution of 23 January 1988 on the use of official cars is being poorly fulfilled, especially in the area of monitoring. The commission members cited facts which showed that the personal cars of leading officials stand idle for days at a time, are used to carry members of their families, and so on.

"Our task," said deputy V.L. Ginzburg, representing the working party which prepared the relevant recommendations, "is to remove the distortions and eliminate unjustified privileges in this area. For that it is necessary to sharply cut the number of so-called personal and assigned cars and prevent the situation whereby several cars can be allocated to one person. In addition, it is necessary to develop the conveyor method, which works well, and improve the vehicle control service.

Deputy V.I. Kisin drew the commission's attention to the poor equipment of the law and order protection agencies' operations staff. The vehicles that they have to use are in a poor technical condition and bear no comparison to the vehicles allocated to administrative staff.

After discussion the commission adopted a recommendation. Before the end of the year the USSR Council of Ministers should examine that question as well with a view to ensuring more rational and efficient use of official cars. Union republic councils of ministers are instructed to accelerate the creation in the car transport system of general-purpose specialized enterprises (vehicle fleets) to organize services for leading workers as and when needed and to ensure that those enterprises are fully supplied with different vehicles, with preference given to more economical models. There must be a time limit on the use of such cars by officials at the state's expense. Transport for those officials above that limit will be at their own expense.

The USSR People's Control Commission has been instructed to verify the use of official cars by officials of the organs of state power and administration and to report its findings to the USSR Supreme Soviet by 1 March 1990. The USSR Ministry of Finances has been instructed to step up the monitoring of how money is spent on maintaining official cars.

The commission also instructed that before the end of the year all state and social organizations are to revise the list of posts of apparatus personnel allocated a personal car. It is also planned that officials may drive their official cars themselves.

During the discussion the commission members decided that in the near future it will be necessary to examine questions of the use of air and water transport by leading workers. In particular, cases were cited where in certain union republics three planes not used for scheduled flights were maintained and kept ready for three top leaders.

The commission on privileges also began examining the question of personal pensions. As Deputy N.S. Sazonov, speaking on behalf of the working party, noted, such a system of pension provision is unparalleled either in the socialist countries (except Romania) or in the capitalist countries. Surely it should be abolished here, too, and at the same time the benefits for Great Patriotic War participants and invalids and Heroes of the Soviet Union should be improved.

How can personal pensions be abolished without thereby infringing the interests and rights of those who have really worked honestly for society? The discussion of the working party's proposals was devoted to that theme. It would surely have been more productive if F.P. Kovrigo, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for

Labor and Social Problems, had been better briefed before coming to the session and had given people's deputies all the necessary information. The commission also drew attention to that.

It was proposed that the discussion of the personal pensions question be continued in a week's time during the work of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

Political & Social

Calendar of Republican Soviet Election Dates

PM0412125689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 89 First Edition p 3

["Voter's Calendar"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] We publish here the dates for holding elections to the lcoal soviets of people's deputies and Supreme Soviets of union republics.

Republic	Local Soviet Elections	Supreme Soviet Elections
Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic	4 March 1990	4 March 1990
Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]	4 March 1990	4 March 1990
Belorussian SSR	4 March 1990	4 March 1990
Uzbek SSR	18 February 1990	18 February 1990
Kazakh SSR	24 December 1989	25 March 1990
Georgian SSR	17 June 1990	25 March 1990
Azerbaijan SSR	undecided	undecided
Lithuanian SSR	undecided	24 February 1990
Moldavian SSR	25 February 1990	25 February 1990
Latvian SSR	10 December 1989	18 March 1990
Kirghiz SSR	25 February 1990	25 February 1990
Tajik SSR	24 December 1989	25 February 1990
Armenian SSR	undecided	undecided
Turkmen SSR	7 January 1990	7 January 1990
Estonian SSR	10 December 1989	18 March 1990

Vyalyas Remarks on Article 6 at Estonian Plenum

LD1312202289 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1000 GMT 7 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Now from Estonia. Gunnar Paal is ready to produce the promised information about the Estonian communist party plenum.

[Paal] Today's Estonian Communist Party Central Committee plenum was long-awaited.

Recently Article 6 of the Constitution has been providing much conversation in Moscow as well as in Tallinn. Vayno Vyalyas [first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee] said the following on this subject in his speech. It is clear there is no place in the future society for the power monopoly of one party. For this reason it is quite natural that many public movements, as well as a number of party organizations and town and rayon committees, have applied for Article 6 of the Constitution to be declared invalid. As I have said, this is a correct stance and is worthy of consideration. One must say that this is the proper thing and one has to reach it by going along the right path. Let us take a wider look at the present state of our society, however. The issue is not only annulling one article in the fundamental law, one would first need to elaborate legislation to reflect the democratic foundations of the law-governed state and to ensure unimpeded functioning of a new constitution.

Reaction to Estonian People's Front Platform

90UN0382A Tallinn MOLODEZH ESTONIYA in Russian 17 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by V. Busel: "When What Is Secret Becomes Explicit" under the rubric "We Assess the Election Platform of the Estonian People's Front"; extracts from readers' letters]

[Text]**The editorial office has been receiving numerous letters from readers responding to the publication of the Estonian People's Front (EPF) election platform (MOLODEZH ESTONII, 20 October 1989) and G. Israyelyan's article "Masks Cast Aside" (MOLODEZH ESTONII, 1 November 1989). Today we publish extracts from this mail reflecting the range of opinions of our chief correspondent and V. Busel's article analyzing the position of the EPF platform.**

Grasping the essence and aims of the EPF election platform is not for those of a nervous disposition. After all, the new EPF program, born of the "palace tactics" of its leadership, has been presented without prior notice in the guise of an election platform. This was done in circumvention of the People's Congress—the movement's highest body and sole authority with the right to adopt the program. In this case the elections are a pretext, and not the principal concern, as some politicians correctly state. Were it really a question only of the elections, the document in this connection would have had to have been coordinated with the other public organizations, as the People's Front undertook in its charter (see clause 38).

The main thing, however, is that if the People's Congress assembles within the time frame determined by the charter, it will de facto be placed under conditions of plans which have already been implemented and whose fulfillment it has not sanctioned. And what kind of plans these are, we know. For the strategic tasks are formulated very fully in this platform: Estonia's integration in East Europe, recognition of the USSR as an empire, a break with Soviet or socialist structures throughout the Baltic, and the issuing of instructions to the deputies and members of the parliament and government. But the People's Front has not, after all, commissioned the proclamation or accomplishment of these tasks.

It can be assumed that the new program was drawn up in coordination with the West, the North, or the on-duty guardian from California, and without the participation of the communists at all. But it is necessary, on the other hand, if only for decency's sake, to discuss preliminarily with the Estonian population the scheduled abrupt political change. Otherwise how to prove one's devotion to democratic ideas and the creation of a law-based society? Or is the "bad influence" of members of the bodies of the EPF which are being elected (who, in spite of the categorical prohibition of the charter, have begun to acquire and accept notable positions and even more substantial salaries in high-level state and public organs) to be seen here?

It is, for all that, useful to ponder the essence of the EPF election platform. I believe it necessary to thank the leaders of the People's Front for the way in which they fulminate against the political guidelines of the PNNE [Estonian National Independence Party], the Society for the Protection of Monuments, and the Estonian Christian Union, and also to support their belief that the "Estonian Communist Party is not prepared for a change in the structures of power" and, even more, "does not have political partners in the West" (by which others, obviously, are strong). One is impressed by the frankness of the acknowledgment of partner relations with the main blocs (the PNNE, part of the Society for the Protection of Monuments and the Christian Union) and their use of the EPF's "roof".

It is hard not to agree with the evaluations of the activity of individual EPF functionaries: "The political maneuver in the form of the program of an independent party is aimed at preserving and strengthening the party's influence among Estonians." However, it is still too early to speak about the final decision of Estonia's Communists in respect of their future program actions (new drafts are appearing, and they are obtainable, and for this reason are not quoted here).

The protestation that there is "an endeavor on the part of the leadership of the Estonian Communist Party to distance itself from the People's Front" would hardly be correct. Where has this been declared? And if the People's Front is rebuking the Estonian Communist Party for the fact that it is "subordinate to...the CPSU," the conclusion concerning the absence therein of a concept of socialism and precise theoretical base cannot be called logical. After all, what is irritating the authors of the platform and prompting them to compose prolix platforms? Precisely the presence of the clear course offered by the CPSU toward a renewed socialism and the restructuring of society! How could they not rush immediately from a theory of philosophies to legal doubts as to the legality of the status of the armed forces and the KGB. Again there is no logic, but it sounds good.

Another assertion of the platform is more interesting: "The Estonian Communist Party may be independent only under conditions where it ceases to be the Estonian Communist Party." Understandably: after all, outside of the CPSU any party in any republic (not only in a new Estonia) would be Euro, liberal, centrist, only not communist!

The entire spirit of the EPF platform advertises its responsibility for policy, the economy, and the social sphere. But when the EPF leadership gets down to expounding the political platforms of the various blocs, it is betrayed by an imperious, although for the time being correct, tone. The leaders of the EPF are becoming unhinged and are pressing down on the opponent, the masses. Here are some illustrations of this:

"...they do not understand the qualitative difference of a federation from a unitary state,"

"...the right of the peoples of the Soviet Union to self-determination is denied,"

"...only industrial workers are considered working people,"

"...hostile attitude toward the intelligentsia,"

"...fulfillment of the role of fifth column in suppression of the national liberation movements."

And this in respect of people from the progressive detachment of the economic sphere, war and labor veterans?

There is candid wording further on also: "The contradiction between the People's Front and the Intermovement bloc is not national but political and ideological, and for this reason any coalition with it would be a denial of its principles." That is, class approaches are being proposed once again? Whence also the EPF's anxiety at its weakness in various movements, particularly in the central Estonian Peasants Union and the Lawyers Association, not to mention the United Work Force Council. The anxiety is justified because the EPF is planning their joint activity in respect of a reorganization (read: destruction) of the existing structure and aspires to seize political power, not sharing it with its present "fellow travelers." Not once, even in the form of a reservation, is there a mention of the proportion, of the share of representation, which the EPF leadership agrees in the new structure of power to grant pensioners, women, and young people (an abridged quota for servicemen has already been determined). Why not guarantee representation in the new organs of power for, say, the Estonian National-Cultural Societies Association? It has, after all, proclaimed itself a political force.... And will it not, in consequence, be accorded seats even after its oath of allegiance to the new Estonia, despite the absence of any conflicts with Estonians, despite the fact that the association grew out of the EPF?

The EPF slogan concerning political stability as a condition of progress is a good one. What is not so good is merely the fact that in developing it the leadership is moving in some kind of zigzags: "The aims of the People's Front do not include unambiguously answering the question as to whether Estonia will remain within the USSR" or "seeking stability with the aid of political slogans is impracticable." And hereupon unsubstantial complaints about manipulation of the "enemy image." Please, it is not the Estonian Communist Party which is seeking an enemy! The more so in that Section I of the platform affirms that the Estonian Communist Party lacks a concept and so forth. And suddenly compliments, with which even the "conformists" do not agree today: "The Estonian Communist Party...accustomed to operating under complex and muddled situations...sees advantages for itself under conditions of tension and instability, for then the leading role is performed by the centralism of the Estonian Communist Party and the very powerful... apparatus."

It is appropriate to say that the authors of the platform correctly counted on the deafness and dumbness of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and on the fact that extremist elements are not yet threatened by a cogent and timely response from our political scientists reared and taught on party and public resources throughout the years of Soviet power in Estonia ("occupation"? "annexation"?).

The platform's aspiration to independence within a demilitarized Balto-Scandia is laudable. Somewhat awkward, it is true, is the fact that no NATO member has yet proclaimed itself disarmed and neutral.

It is interesting that in the search for answers the platform separates the movement and all people of the republic by various categories: "opponents of the people and the People's Front".... The movement by the People's Front leadership away from the people has been spotted in the Estonian Christian Democratic Union also.

While promising the people freedom of expression, the platform meanwhile confines the choice for the population of the republic to the system models in Hungary and Finland and, possibly, ties to the Soviet Union or the West (?!). In addition, it deems it necessary in movement "toward a free state—toward a republic"—to conduct a referendum under international supervision with the participation merely of Estonians. Why, in this case, stand on ceremony? It should formulate as quickly as possible proposals for negotiations with the USSR central authorities and agree on the time frame and terms of implementation of the results of the referendum.

Enticing the average voter, the platform promises a long list of all kinds of benefits for the successors of the "first republic." However, no matter how much one tries to read into it, everything else, aside from the mentions of this "find," is contained—and in no less radical a form—in the documents of perestroyka and in documents of the Estonian Communist Party and the CPSU. Is it not the CPSU which is restoring self-management, decentralizing administration, and calling for an intensification of the safeguarding of public order and the prevention of anarchy and arbitrary action? Are some people now opposed to international cooperation? Is the present Estonian prime minister traveling to far-off exotic countries and the union republics illegally? Then what is the point of breaking down open doors and passing a verbal fog through the opening? Perhaps the electorate does not read the papers and has not learned about this. And it is not now necessary, as was the case in the overall EPF Program (Section 1, clause 1), to assure the CPSU of one's devotion to perestroyka and declare oneself the political medium of the boards of the artistic unions in the name of support for the course of the 27th CPSU Congress (Section 1, clause 3).

Combined with difficulty with the ultimate aims of the People's Front is the authorization for the participation of all patriotic and political forces in the formation of new parliamentary power structures—in exchange for "the implementation of People's Front policy"; has the foreign nationality population of Estonia today been removed from policy and law-making?

It is altogether very difficult for the People's Front leadership to prove the expediency and benevolent nature of what is contemplated if even this "has to be explained to political and business circles of the West." Just as incomprehensible is the need "to succeed...in confronting the Government of the Soviet Union with the question of self-determination. The basis...should be the principles...of 1920." Excuse me, but why are the fighters for the elimination of the "blanks" not analyzing in a package the periods 1918-1920 and 1938-1940, which have a direct historical connection?

There subsequently descends no longer a simple but a thick verbal fog in which the contours of the foreign and domestic policy of the USSR and East and West Europe are indistinguishable, but in which, on the other hand, there appear demands, spiced with contradictions, for the borders to be protected and simultaneously for them to be removed; for the creation of national-territorial military formations and assured noninterference, guaranteeing Estonia "full state independence by a particular date." It has to be assumed that the said demands are explained by the passionate desire of the People's Front leadership for demilitarization. It is for the sake of this that a promise is made to conduct a referendum by the Estonians themselves on the question of independence, and when Estonia has become independent, citizens of all nationalities may be admitted to a second referendum. This is, say what you will, a magnanimous step on the part of the People's Front leadership (bordering on self-sacrifice!).

Section VI of the platform outlines far-reaching prospects and sets both the electorate and the deputies assignments. Although obscurities remain. For example: "The economic policy of the People's Front must free Estonia's economy from one-sided dependence on raw material sources." How? By way of the "opening of reciprocal republic offices" or a "Baltic common market"? (SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 22 October 1989) No. The platform proposes together with rational measures very risky steps: reorganization of some state enterprises into private enterprises (is it for this that we are allegedly demanding the transfer to the republic of union enterprises, encountering "stiff opposition in Moscow"?) (SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, 24 May 1989); reprofiling of "some enterprises" and raising the employee's earnings "as a minimum to the level of the average earnings of the skilled worker" (a laudable demand. But realizable at whose expense? Would it not be at the expense of the frozen income level of the worker who has already been reprofiled?).

Reprofiling is a special question. IME [Self-Managing Estonia], yes! But a reprofiling of production, already, in fact, announced unilaterally by the ESSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic], is fraught with serious social and societal consequences, not only economic and production-engineering consequences. Mass reprofiling would leave the work force and the unions without a say. Deprived of the foundations of their vital well-being, the specialist and experienced worker would find themselves deprived of their rights. From the time when the workman is removed from the customary place of designer of machinery or switches off a narrow-profile machine tool honed over the years, he becomes a suppliant: will he be taken on anywhere and at what age and in what language will he (a 40-to 50-year-old) or the mother of a large family be retaught?

Not relying on the state, the People's Front leadership considers its financial policy obligatory for all. And how simple it all is: "encouraging cooperation with foreign capital in every possible way," but to make up for it, "taxing enterprise profits exported to the Soviet Union." Perhaps this is what is meant by "ruling out the waste of national resources and their falling under an alien power"? Understandable in this case is the guideline of the People's Front leadership: "For the majority of inhabitants of Estonia policy is not an end in itself but a means of achieving other, personal or public, ends." Having determined in chatter the rich opportunities of the majority for achieving their personal ends by policy, the political minority of professionals from the People's Front fussily places on different sides of the public task the implementation of IME and the formation of a feeling of protection "in all residents of Estonia".

There are among the dozen categorical instructions to the deputies very "beguiling" innovations—aside from those which reiterate the ones proclaimed by perestroyka. For example, the proposal concerning development of the structure of local institutions. Clearly, absolutely everything which has been developed by management practice is no good and is to be broken up. But in the name of what? And how are we to understand the fact that local authority supervision of the activity of the military recruiting office and the military units should be based on the program propositions of the People's Front? Does this mean that in this law-based state a district warrant officer will inspect the divisions and put the seals on the ammunition wagons?

All this is very moving to the ordinary reader.

Of course, the assertion of the People's Front leadership concerning the time "when by the grace of a huge power we were all destitute" could bring forth tears. But what I would like to know is this: "Judging from this platform, who will be left destitute?" Some people must become destitute, after all, inasmuch as the platform does not persuade us of a large increase in the national product on account of increased productivity and transatlantic charity (or proceeds from the sale of diamonds, say), but the ever-increasing requirements are sketched clearly in the platform. Expenditure, on the other hand, both from the republic and the USSR and from the potential taxpayer, will be substantial.

I have no wish to testify time and again to no purpose to my respect for the Estonian people for their perseverance and decisiveness in the removal of the injustices which fell to their lot and for their bright dreams. But it would be shameful to remain silent and not say frankly that the so-called platform is making adroit and opportune use of the mood of the indigenous masters of the land—the working Estonians.

This document, which embraces all aspects of the usurpation of political leadership, is reminiscent more of a nationalist ultimatum to the Soviet authorities and the Estonian Communist Party than a conscientious plan for the establishment by the parliamentary path of the priority of the Estonian nation.

The first successes have evidently turned the heads of certain leaders of the People's Front. Successful use has been made of the possibilities of perestroyka and the openness and tolerance of the Soviet society. Some people have conceived of a desire to test Soviet power for strength. Let us say plainly: attempts are being made to reanimate petty bourgeois ideology and play on national feelings. The basic features and characteristics of a national regime, previously shamefully concealed in the EPF Charter and Program, show through in the platform. Secret intentions have now become explicit.
[Signed] V. Busel

Lines From Letters

Challenge Issued

Such have we taken the EPF election platform to be. We agree with communist G. Israyelyan's conclusions concerning the hostility of the People's Front toward socialism, the Communist Party, and the perestroyka being implemented under its leadership.

He is also right to say that the Government of the Estonian SSR and the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee are being led around by the EPF, ignoring the interests of the majority of the republic's

Russian-speaking population. We believe that the People's Front has in fact closed ranks not only with the PNNE, but also with the so-called citizens' committees, which is borne out by the use of their structure in holding a referendum on self-determination without the participation of nonindigenous inhabitants; that is, those by whose labor a considerable amount of the ESSR's present national wealth has been created.

Also testifying to this is the ESSR draft law on immigration, in which the entire population of the republic is divided into two categories: the first, citizens of the Estonian Republic and their descendants; the second, persons who are permanent residents of the ESSR and are not citizens of the ESSR or their descendants. There is thereby manifest hypocrisy in the People's Front statement that "the implementation of People's Front policy should implant confidence that Estonia's development in the direction of a democratic state does not in the least presuppose violence or deportation in respect of anyone living in the ESSR at this time..." (see EPF election platform).

It is also puzzling that the Estonian Communist Party leadership is failing to make a scrupulous evaluation of these documents. One has the impression that it is exercising the function of cover for the separatists, declaring its "fidelity" to the Soviet Federation and assiduously pretending not to notice that the EPF has taken the path of confrontation with the Estonian Communist Party and Soviet power.

Such a position may lead merely to the even greater exacerbation of interethnic relations and a further spread of social conflicts.

Now, however, when the masks have been cast aside, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the ESSR Supreme Soviet must clearly determine their position.

People's fate cannot be manipulated for any length of time with impunity. The people, who at the last session of the ESSR Supreme Soviet were told that "it is not necessary for the electorate to know the rules of the counting and transfer of votes," wish and have the right to be master of their destiny.
[Signed] I. Makarov, A. Astashkin, M. Chekatovskiy, N. Korenin, A. Kobzev, M. Sazhin, A. Shabalkin, A. Gornostayev, A. Ivanov, G. Mikhaylov, A. Shevchenko, S. Shapovalov, A. Arkhipov, V. Morozov, A. Grankin, O. Kandaritskiy, secretaries of party organizations of the "Zavod 'Dvigatel' named for V.I. Lenin" Production Association.

Dear Editors!

G. Israyelyan's article is simply dispiriting. It would seem that the author has become moonstruck from the long extinguished five-pointed stars in the Hammer and Sickle constellation. Or, on the other hand, he conceives of social life as a card game. Perestroyka, now, it is a game of fool, let us take such-and-such a card, and there we have the Stalin business once again, and other cards have to be dealt. It is immaterial what is happening around the game—the deluge even—we still play by the rules of fools.... Even if the authority of the Estonian Communist Party falls so low, the EPF should support it (like a statue?).

G.I. forgets that the EPF is a **popular movement.** And if the EPF leadership has at times moved away from the interests of the people and their demands, the **platform** is not a casting aside of masks, but the leadership's renunciation of tactical subterfuge in policy and a transition to truly popular positions. The leadership has moved toward the members, and not against them.

What do the EPF and the Estonian people demand? Not capitalism, not Sweden, not an anti-Soviet campaign.... The people demand a return to normal life, to a normal economy, to democracy, as understood by five-sixths of the earth, and not only in Kaluga.

No one is moving against socialism. Because socialism as G.I. understands it simply does not exist, it is some kind of error, delusion, myth, and bad recollections from which they desire to be released as quickly as possible.

G.I., your article evokes laughter through tears. It is time to come to from the lethargy of utopian communism and look life, man, and the whole world honestly in the eye!
[Signed] M. Ummelas, senior scientific editor of the "Estonian Encyclopedia," Literature and Art Department.

Dear Editors!

We thank you for the publication of the article "Masks Cast Aside," which was very good in substance and seriousness. We fully agree with the author, fully! This article should be carried in the central press so that the entire Soviet people might get to know the true character of the EPF.

Respectfully,
[Signed] Work force of the "Elektrotekhnika" Production Association.

Instead of strengthening the unity of the people and raising the masses to the renovation of life and its improvement, the EPF is moving in the direction of friction between the nations, division of the union, and destabilization in the country. All kinds of parties and associations with the same tendency have emerged under its influence. It is surprising that the Estonian Communist Party has not yet implemented measures to put a stop to the activity of such "fighters for perestroyka" and is often being led around by them. Of course, it is difficult for the Estonian Communist Party. The point being that the People's Front leaders also consider themselves communists and are members of the party Central Committee. If relations between the peoples in the republic do not strengthen (they have become bad with the endeavors of the People's Front), there can be no question even of perestroyka and IME. It will simply be

another illusion. And the woman who wrote to MOLODEZHKA that the leaders would then be driving around in Mercedes, and the ordinary people would be kowtowing for a piece of bread, is a hundred times right. The People's Front is heading for power, and should be stopped!
[Signed] Yu. Beltsev, veteran of war and labor, participant in the liberation of Narva.

G. Israyelyan's article did not surprise me; I anticipated precisely this political course of the EPF's development. What has surprised me has been, if not the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee's sponsorship of the EPF, the total absence in the newspapers (and yours also, MOLODEZHKA) of evaluations of the actions of the chameleon communists in the EPF nucleus.

I would like to know the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee's precise position on the question raised in the article.

My attitude toward the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee (not toward the party) is wavering.
[Signed] V. Piterslikh, Narva.

ESSR Deputies Challenge Party's Leading Role

90UN0458A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 18 Nov 89 p 2

[Constitutional change proposal of group of deputies for democratic development presented by T. Kork, deputy chairman of the group of deputies]

[Text] We have set as our goal the building of a state based on the rule of law and have spoken about this openly and out loud both in Moscow and in Tallinn, as have both leaders and citizens of the Soviet Union. In a state based on the rule of law there are three powers, which exist separately, that is, the principle of separation of powers operates. These three powers are as follows: legislative, executive and judicial. There is no fourth power which is above them, the constitutionally determined power of one party, in the direction we are heading. A political movement, whether we call it a party, alliance and so forth, and power are different concepts. In a normal society no political movement has a monopoly of the truth and power, such an advantage is discriminatory in respect of others, it is dictatorship of the minority. Dictatorship and a state based on the rule of law are different concepts.

According to Article 6 of the USSR Constitution, which has been in force since 1977, and the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution, which has been in force since 1978, the CPSU is the leading and directing force and nucleus of the state and public organizations of its political system. Thus did a most important contradiction in our constitution arise and thus was the supremacy of the party over the people recorded, but this should have been the other way about. In addition, Part 3 of Article 6 of the ESSR Constitution contains simply a nonsense: According to it, the party organizations operate in accordance with the USSR Constitution, but all other organizations, state authorities and citizens operate in accordance with the ESSR [Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic] Constitution. Thus we have constitutionally even made the party a totalitarian body. No party, the Estonian Communist Party included, needs such a label. This is expressed directly in the Estonian Communist Party draft action program submitted now for public discussion. The gorkom and raykom [city and rayon party committees] first secretaries who gathered in October at a meeting in Valga also decided that this party or the other had the right to influence the course of events only it if obtained for this a popular mandate at direct elections. It has the right to influence to the extent corresponding to the number of representatives elected to the organs of power. It influences also depending on how many hands are raised "for" and "against." We have since 6 October discussed this matter repeatedly and thoroughly in the group of democrats for democratic development. You have the list of the group, from which was accidentally omitted the name of Nina Mikheyeva, who also is a member of our group. I submit to the Supreme Soviet a draft law on changes to the ESSR Constitution (Basic Law), which reads as follows:

The ESSR has resolved to make to the ESSR Constitution (Basic Law) the following changes:

1. To recognize Article 6 as invalid.

2. To alter Article 7 and have it read:

Article 7. "The political system of the ESSR incorporates associations of civilians, social and political organizations, cooperatives and other public organizations and also public movements, and they participate, in accordance with their statutory tasks, in administering the affairs of state and society and also in the solution of political, economic, social and cultural questions. Affiliation to the political system of associations of citizens and the registration of their basic documents (statutes) are realized in the procedure determined by ESSR legislation. All ESSR citizens' associations operate within the framework of the ESSR Constitution and ESSR laws."

I propose that the draft be submitted for examination by the Supreme Soviet and adopted at this session even.

Each decision which we have adopted recently exerts a dual influence. One is geared to the future, the other to avoid a repetition of the situations and actions which led our state onto the path of decline. Economic, political and moral decline. Led to 100, 1,000 or 1 million human lives signifying nothing. I am not so naive as to believe that enactment of the law being discussed today will unfailingly spare us a repetition of the past. But I am sure that it will lessen the likelihood of such a repetition. There have been those who have longed to become dictators, bloody dictators included, in every state and at all times. It may undoubtedly be assumed that there are such now among us also. But we need to ensure that the possibility of becoming a dictator be reduced to a minimum, both in practice and in theory.

Riga Gorkom First Secretary Interviewed

90UN0395A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 30 Nov 89 p 3

[Report on interview with Arnold Klautsen, first secretary of the Riga City Party Committee, conducted by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent E. Govorushko: "We Support Those Who Profess the Norms of Our Life"; in Riga, date not given]

[Text] Riga—A regular meeting of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau dealt with the question of an evaluation of the new program of the People's Front adopted almost a month ago at its second congress, and the communists' role in the LPF [Latvian People's Front]. The lively and lengthy debate led to the majority advocating that the assessment be postponed until the upcoming plenum and that it be made not in a special resolution, but in the report. A. Klautsen, member of the Central Committee Bureau and first secretary of the Riga Gorkom [City Party Committee], disagreed with this. "This being the case," he declared, "the gorkom bureau will make an independent ruling on this matter." No one was surprised: People are accustomed here to Arnold Klautsen's having his own position on many matters. It was with this episode, in fact, that our discussion began.

[Govorushko] Arnold Petrovich, you are reputed in the republic's party organization to be a conformist from whom all the new trends of the times virtually flee, as it were. Would you not care to dispute such a description?

[Klautsen] You see, unfortunately until recently, and also even now, people have been in vogue who literally at any meeting rush to support any innovation, repent of everything, and revise their position on all issues, as it were. They are obviously ardent and impulsive people by nature. So it seems at times that it is these people—the consistent fighters for perestroyka—who are restructuring themselves right before our very eyes. To be honest, I am not one of these. Both by nature and style of behavior I have always considered myself rather a more solid person. Measure and measure again, as they say.... In this sense I am by nature also more of a construction worker, and not only by profession.

Of course, everyone wants to move into a new home quicker, embodying the blueprints in walls and a roof as quickly as possible. But I am accustomed before embarking on a project to count up the money and see what kind of material there is on hand and whether or not it is sufficient. And hereupon it is ascertained that it is too early to order the project. And for this reason it is better to think about a major renovation of the old house. People, however, who cannot wait to give a house-warming party abuse me for slowness and rebuke me for making economies, a conservative approach, and a conformist devotion to the old ways. Some people censure me in a mood of the moment and sincerely, possibly, but some attempt not without an ulterior motive to have me taken off the case and begin to dig out the foundation pit in their backyard. But Platonov has, after all, already written about this. And we have had experience of construction whereby in respect of unsuitable projects people have wanted, having somehow made the foundation, to make a start right away on the roof....

But, to be honest, I have no wish to argue about character traits and characteristics; evidence by specific deeds looks better on me.

[Govorushko] Such close interest in the personality and position of party officials, of the middle and top level particularly, is evidently far from fortuitous today. Are there personalities in the Latvian Communist Party who skillfully uphold by word and deed high-minded Marxist-Leninist positions and who are capable of leading people by their authority? It sometimes seems that many communists have developed virtually an inferiority complex under the hail of criticism which has rained down on the party from the LPF and other informal movements from right and left. Under such conditions it is indeed simpler to confess mistakes than formulate and defend one's position and assume responsibility. But free elections are a most serious test which could, after all, be lost, and then the soviets could find themselves without communists.

[Klautsen] Yes, we need to speak about the situation in the party. It is very complex. For over 70 years the party has led the people from promise to promise, but has fulfilled far from all of them. Empty shelves are a minor misfortune. There is no getting used to these.... But the party has, after all, also taken upon itself the boldness to acknowledge tragic mistakes on this path and deprive itself and the people of the customary political comfort, some spiritual lethargy, when confidence in the future was not the result of the excellent work of the individual and society but, rather, of psychological suggestion. But the people want action. But we still cannot stop criticizing and are still beating our breasts. In addition interethnic relations have become exacerbated and strikes are underway, neither are comforts on the rise, and actual work is still showing no results. I can see that those who initiated perestroyka failed in the past to foresee the entire complexity of the impending major renovation and, in some cases, new construction, failed to count up the resources and materials, and failed to concern themselves with a platform and concept. Everything is having to be done on the move. So we are hurtling from side to side....

An outflow from the party is being observed. And those leaving are frequently people we need, and secretaries of party committees and raykoms [rayon party committees) are even tendering their resignations on a variety of pretexts, and there is a danger of a split.

You know, I found corroboration of my thoughts in M.S. Gorbachev's article, published recently, "The Socialist Idea and Revolutionary Restructuring," which says plainly that perestroyka has confronted the party with a dual task: determining its place under the conditions of a cardinal democratization of the political system, the structuring of the civil society and transition to financial autonomy and, simultaneously with this, effecting perestroyka in the party itself. And much will be determined by how we perform it.

The complexity of the current political moment is further the fact that there are now movements and groups for which the difficulties which the party is currently experiencing are precisely to their liking. These groups are endeavoring to wrest power from it and they cannot wait to run in their political concepts of the republic's state development. Mention needs to be made here primarily of the LPF, which has set as its main goal the achievement of state independence by the parliamentary path. Although the new LPF program does not say it directly, it is still a question of independence outside of the USSR as the ultimate goal. This front's election platform formulates without the least embarrassment the following specific assignment: struggle for real power, that is, "maximum representation of LPF members in the local soviets and the republic Supreme Soviet"; and it forecasts their activity as factions seeking the adoption of alternative projects. Clearly such a position runs counter to the tasks of perestroyka and is ultimately designed to torpedo them.

We need to realize that the idea of independence outside of the USSR is now being propagandized by many of those who have lost faith that the economic and political reform of our Soviet Federation will bear, and rapidly, tangible fruit. It is clear that the leaders of the People's Front are determining their candidates by their loyalty to the idea of Latvia's independence, and secondarily by personal and professional attributes. We went through this, as they say, in the times of stagnation, determining "our" people by their loyalty to the dogmatic guidelines of the party apparatus and the leader. Consequently, if the LPF comes to power, it cannot be ruled out that it will not essentially reproduce the classical authoritarian structures, only with the opposite sign. Indeed, even now in fact, its leading nucleus is trampling popular initiative, engendering slogans and declarations, and mobilizing people to actions with purely outward effects. The national idea is being exploited here not for an improvement in the state of affairs both in the country and the republic, but as a form of struggle for power.

What may we counterpose to this? Only responsibility to the people and a clear-cut political platform. And a specific action program. In our election platform we are expressing ourselves distinctly and definitely: We are for a Soviet socialist Latvia in a renewed federation, we are for the independent status of the Latvian Communist Party within the CPSU, with its own action program and broad autonomy in the solution of the most important questions of the activity of the republic's communists.

Together with the political sphere of action of the city's communists, a number of specific actions in the socioeconomic field has also been mapped out. We firmly intend extending cardinal economic reform and seeking not for show, but genuine economic independence on the basis of leasing and state and cooperative and other progressive forms of management. Our plans include the creation of a system of municipal enterprises and the opening of joint firms not only with foreign but also Soviet partners. Yes, we are for a market economy, but understand that we cannot leap into it. Otherwise there would be chaos, and the living standard would drop sharply, and, given the instability of interethnic relations in the republic, this would threaten a serious political crisis. We are for a gradual transition to the market, starting from what has been achieved, and not rejecting it.

It is contemplated to seek a breakthrough in the housing problem and appreciably improve the ecological situation in the city. An important block of specific measures is connected with concern for the townspeople's health, an improvement in the material and everyday living conditions of pensioners, invalids, and large families, and the legal protection of everyone. And, of course, decisive actions are already being implemented and are planned in the organization of the uninterrupted provision of the city with produce and basic necessities and assistance to the countryside.

Do we have people capable of proving the practicability of this program and putting it into practice? We do. They include representatives of the new formation of organizers of industry, business managers, party officials, and young scientists with whom we have firm contacts.

We teach our candidates to tell and uphold the truth, not avoid acute questions, on the development of interethnic relations and on citizenship included, to defend the principles of Latvia's development within the Soviet Federation and, what is most important, to persistently direct the political initiative of the masses into the channel of practical work. The more so in that even now practically everyone understands that it is not the fashionable appeal and slogan, but merely conscientious work with a recognition of personal responsibility for the fate of the city, the republic, and the country which may assist the successful solution of urgent problems of our life. And we must match this understanding and convince people that we can create the conditions for concerned, and for this reason productive work.

In a word, we are moving toward the elections to the local soviets with a clear understanding of the goal. Earlier we anticipated the maximum cooperation with the LFP leadership in order with the aid of compromises to put forward joint candidates in a number of rayons. However, in a recent television interview a leader of the LPF Duma Board declared that two forces would actually be contending in the upcoming elections—the LPF and the Latvian Communist Party. This, of course, changes our attitude toward cooperation with the LPF leadership, but not with its rank and file. We do not intend yielding power, but we will not reject and will support even those who profess values common to all mankind and the norms of our life.

It is clear, however, that Riga is an island which is not far away from the turbulent ups and downs of life. And our problems lie in the context of the problems of the country and the Communist Party. In order that it be easier for us to work, conduct a constructive dialogue with people, and prepare for the coming elections to the republic Supreme Soviet, the Communist Party must formulate a concept of socialism in renewal of the kind to which we aspire. After all, without it, one feels, it will be difficult for the country's Supreme Soviet also to enact new laws, and there will be slowness and indecision where it is necessary to act promptly. People's Deputy A. Gorbunov, our chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, spoke about this, incidentally, in a recent speech at the session, and I fully agree with him.

The same clear-cut concepts of the development of the economy and ideology are also needed. We must understand how we will act in the future. The main thing here, I believe, is defining the Communist Party's place and role in the country's new political structure and its present and future. It is no accident, after all, that there is so much talk currently about Article 6 of the country's Constitution, which has legalized the Communist Party's leading role. It is already obvious that the leading role should not be declared, but won by deeds and selfless service of the people.

[Govorushko] A month prior to the last LPF congress a Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum adopted the Latvian Communist Party action program, and after lengthy debate, adopted it practically unanimously. It emphasizes that the republic's communists advocate real sovereignty within a qualitatively renewed Soviet Federation. Nonetheless, at the LPF congress, among whose delegates one out of every four was a communist, none of them defended this proposition. What do you think about this? How do you evaluate the activity of communists in the LPF, and is it compatible with membership of the Communist Party? And is the party's evaluation of the new LPF program and the position of the communists in this movement necessary in this connection, is it not too late?

First, I would emphasize that, however odd this may seem, both programs—party and people's front—are largely similar. Similar in the assessment of the situation and in a number of proposed ways of solving social, economic, and ecological problems. Both speak, inter alia, about the republic's economic independence. It is mainly only the concepts of further political and state development which differ. And even then only because, in my view, independence outside of the USSR is an end in itself for the LPF, a magic wand which, it is said, will immediately help solve all the above-listed and new problems. That is, it seemed to many people that the difference was merely in tactics, and the goal, strictly speaking, was the same—the free, dignified, and prosperous life of the citizens. Here one involuntarily starts thinking....

Second, I agree with those who maintain that our Communist Party is now most likely not an alliance of the like-minded, and this may, it seems to me, be said about more than just the republic Communist Party. What is happening is, if it may be so put, the "parliamentarization" of the party and its conversion into a tribune where arguments and debate are conducted, various opinions apropos strategy, tactics, theory, and practice are expressed, and even individual currents and platforms are shaped. In this sense there is nothing surprising in what happened involving our communists at the LPF congress. I believe that even now participation in the LPF is compatible with the title of communist. The CPSU Rules do not prohibit this. The more so in that independence outside of the USSR, in other words, self-determination up to and including separation, is a republic's constitutional right.

What is our attitude toward the communists, members of the LPF under these conditions? We discussed this question at a gorkom plenum and concluded that we cannot now indiscriminately condemn them; we need to differentiate between the positions of the LPF leadership and its rank and file and work with each one in his party organization on specific issues, coming together for their solution. I repeat, we need to support those who are in sympathy with the idea of the importance to the party of values common to all mankind and who agree on this basis to work together with the party.

The delay in evaluating the new LPF program is not, I am sure, to our benefit. Let us not conceal the fact that the LPF is a strong and authoritative movement having an impact on practically all aspects of the republic's social life. It is of considerable importance to the party to analyze what tactics, methods, and approaches the LPF leaders are choosing in the struggle for power and for authority among the population, under the impact of what factors their program principles change, and in what areas efforts are being concentrated. If they take paths coinciding with the overall line of perestroyka, although outdistancing it, perhaps, we should support them and tackle problems together. If, on the other hand, they depart from the line of perestroyka and wish to achieve some ends of their own which lie outside of the fundamental, and not passing, interests of the people, we need to spot this in good time and correct their actions and positions. It would seem to me that it was with good reason that the LPF Duma published the new program only after a certain delay and attempted to gain time prior to the elections to the local soviets and thereby escape for as long as possible an analysis of the program. But even after the belated publication of this document, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau decided to refrain from evaluating it. I am sure that we should have responded more promptly, compared the two programs, and shown convincingly why the communists' action program is more constructive.

Who will do this for us? The Riga Gorkom Bureau has now prepared such a document.

[Govorushko] Even quite recently the a priori formulation of the question of the independence of this republic or the other was virtually shocking to us. What do you think; has the time not come to impart legal provisions to the constitutional proposition and enact the corresponding law? And, prior to this, scholars—lawyers, economists, political scientists—should total up and forecast what such independence would cost both the republic and the federative state, and not only economically, in order that the people and their leaders might know what they could be getting into. Thought also needs to be given, of course, to assurances for those who might want to leave the republic and those who would remain.

[Klautsen] Yes, a very pertinent question. In a program speech at the LPF congress dealing with this movement's international relations, Duma member E. Inkens, a communist and USSR people's deputy, made, in my view incidentally, a typical comparison. It explains much in the mood which is current among certain categories of the population of Latvia and the other Baltic republics and in the evaluation of the events taking place here on the part of the West. Comparing the country with an airplane and the Baltic republics with passengers who are attempting to parachute out, he expressed bewilderment at the fact that attempts were being made to impede these "passengers". I leave it to the reader himself to assess the degree of legitimacy of this analogy. One thing is clear—the idea of "abandoning the airplane" expressed by radical groups in the LPF was victorious at their congress and has become the specific aim of this front and is as yet supported by not that small a part of the population. Whether it will be victorious in the republic, the elections will show. As will time. However, self-determination up to and including separation remains merely a formal right, and no one believes in its constitutional practicability. Now, I am sure, the country's parliament and government should formulate the necessary legal bases and provisions of self-determination. It is not enough to provide all those who so desire with a "parachute" in working order; we need to do everything to ensure that the voluntary "abandonment of the airplane" not hamper the pilot in his control, even if each people decides for themselves to avail themselves of this right or not and when to avail themselves and to which counsel and counselors to listen. It is necessary simultaneously to give thought also to assurances for the citizens who have not lost faith in the ultimate safety of the flight and the pilot's capacity for getting the airplane to its destination.

[Govorushko] The Latvian Social Democratic Party is operating actively in the republic, and it has its own democratic alliance. The National Independence Movement and the Environmental Protection Club are acting as parties with their own programs and platforms. And the LPF, as a whole, is also approaching the elections as a well-organized party with an entirely evolved structure and apparatus. The republic's communists are having to operate virtually in a multiparty situation. Does this not tie your hands?

[Klautsen] We are truly operating under the conditions of an actual multiparty system, but are forced not to notice it, as it were. Whether the multiparty system will help the country promptly solve urgent problems is another matter. Hardly. So diverting forces into the formation of parties, as is happening in Hungary, is hardly expedient, but ignoring facts is impermissible also. In pretending that they do not exist we are depriving ourselves of the opportunity of analyzing their programs thoroughly and in a scientific manner, adopting what is acceptable and emphatically rejecting what is alien to us and the people. Believing that only the LPF and the Communist Party operate with us is tactical and political myopia. The development of this process in society or the other cannot be impeded by pretending that they do not exist.

[Govorushko] And the final question, Arnold Petrovich: is holding your standpoint difficult today?

[Klautsen] I will say frankly, it is not easy. Particularly under the conditions of the political situation in our republic. First, formulating it is difficult; this is understandable. Second, it is not easy propounding it when all the media have been politicized to the utmost, and their editors merely pay lip service to pluralism of opinions. Many of the newspapers and radio and television have long since adopted the position of the LPF here and are propagandizing it in every possible way. Attempts are being made to at best keep quiet about the position of the Communist Party or to supply the opinion of the communists whose line fluctuates together with that of the LPF. Pressure is being put on the active, scrupulous communists, and not only in the media, what is more Telephone calls at home, insults at the time of seemingly chance meetings in the street, and pressure even on family members have become routine. I know this on my own account, but this can be seen particularly graphically in the example of A. Rubiks, chairman of the Riga Gorispolkom [City Executive Committee], who has done much for the development of the city. His clear-cut political position in respect of the People's Front is not to the liking of some people, and everything possible is being done and new methods of moral pressure on him and to discredit him are being thought up. Working in such an atmosphere is difficult, and we do not yet, to be honest, know how and have not become accustomed to defending our comrades against wrongful attacks and in the majority of cases shamefully close our eyes to this.

This will not add to our authority among the people. In fact, "if the Communist Party cannot come to the defense of its comrade who has come under the philistine press of moral pressure, can it extricate the republic from the crisis and raise people to creativity?" These are not my words, I have quoted from a speech by Yuris Rudzutis, chairman of a rayon electoral commission, published in a youth paper. At the last gorkom plenum.

incidentally, we adopted a special resolution condemning the unseemly campaign to discredit A. Rubiks.

Incidentally, more than a month ago Alfred Rubiks sent a letter to the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo. He writes therein about the seriousness of the political situation in the republic and that the Communist Party and its leading authorities are gradually losing their influence on the masses and are controlling increasingly less the course of many processes and ceding political positions to their LPF opponents. The letter speaks candidly also about the unwarranted persecution and hounding of communists honestly performing their party and official duty. A. Rubiks, member of the Communist Party Central Committee, considers impermissible the continued passiveness of the Central Committee Bureau and the leaders of the republic and proposes a number of measures which could, in his opinion, stabilize the situation in the party and the republic.

Albeit belatedly, the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau examined the communist's appeal at a recent session. As a member of the Central Committee Bureau, I also was present at the session and can testify that it was a very involved discussion. The adopted decision pointed out that although the Bureau cannot agree with all A. Rubiks' arguments, it nonetheless shares the concern he expressed at the political and social tension which has come about in the republic and the state of affairs in the republic party organization. All this really requires thorough analysis and should be the subject of discussion at a Central Committee plenum. The Bureau went on to emphasize that it is emphatically opposed to the deliberate discrediting of officials, senior officials and ordinary communists and against pigeonholing. In this connection it is contemplated adopting a number of measures aimed at regulating the structure of the media and increasing the responsibility of publishers and editorial collectives for the content and thrust of the material they publish.

Well, let us hope that, to be blunt, the unusual conduct of the communist Alfred Rubiks and the discussion of his letter stimulate the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee and induce the republic's communists to defend their position and the principles of the adopted, but not yet satisfactorily realized, action program of Latvia's communists more resolutely.

The party had for a long time lived under conditions of monopoly as regards its opinion and under conditions of political ease. We have forgotten how to struggle and defend our positions. Consequently, we need to learn from scratch, studying our own historical experience. If only we recall how skillfully V.I. Lenin defended his principles, the party's ideas, and his comrades in the struggle. Borrowing his experience also would do us no harm.

[Govorushko] Thank you for the interview. I hope it will throw light on both the political situation in the republic and the situation in the Latvian Communist Party.

Riga Gorkom on Pre-Election Campaign

90UN0431A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 24 Nov 89 p 1

[Article by E. Lapidus: "Who Is Seeking a Seat"]

[Text] The Riga City Party Committee gave a press conference for representatives of the media. The subject of the discussion on this occasion was determined by a principal event in the social life of the capital of the republic—the election campaign.

The most characteristic features of this political campaign, in which all public and informal organizations are taking part, were described to the journalists by Kh. Zags, chairman of the city electoral commission for the election of people's deputies of the Riga City Soviet.

What is the situation taking shape in the republic's capital?

Some 120 okrugs intended for the election of a new city soviet are functioning. Some 590 candidates for people's deputy have been registered altogether. This figure will obviously change inasmuch as it is to be expected that some comrades will withdraw their candidacies.

The distribution of candidates by okrug is interesting. A kind of "champion" is Kirovskiy Rayon's Electoral Okrug No 1, where there have ultimately come to be 20 candidates for a single seat. An acute struggle is expected here, to judge by everything, and it will be difficult for the electorate to decide for itself for whom to cast its vote.

Second in terms of the number of contenders is Oktyabrskiy Rayon's Okrug No 73: There are 16 candidates for deputy here.

Two okrugs have 10 candidates each, the majority, however, from 3 to 7. And only in two okrugs is there a single candidate.

The start of the election campaign in the republic capital was flaccid, it would seem, lacking the anticipated high interest on the part of the electorate. But the completion of the registration, the number of "minuted" contenders and their dispersal by okrug are convincing testimony to the growing intensity of the struggle for deputy's seats.

For whom has the electorate shown its preference at the first stage of the election campaign?

A preliminary analysis provided the following spread. Communists constitute 55% of the candidates. Half of the 590 are Letts. Workers account for 10% of the total number. Among the candidates there are 31 doctors, 32 teachers, 30 people working in higher educational institutions, 17 lawyers and 10 journalists.

One further figure is of interest: executives of all levels—from foremen to general directors—account for 40%.

There is an approximately even number among the candidates of representatives of the International and People's fronts—roughly 37% of the total number of registered contenders (all the numerical data, supplemented by the information of Kh. Zags, was kindly made available to the SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA editorial office by members of the city electoral commission).

As a whole, the first election stage was, as Kh. Zags observed, generally tranquil, without abrupt emotional displays.

And, let us hope, the campaign will stick to the framework of correct political struggle. We would add that the city electoral commission has had to examine only 14 protests.

It is difficult surprising anyone in our unquiet times, which have engendered (in sociologists' opinion) an unusual tendency in many people—news, negative particularly, fatigue. Even if it is a question, say, of the [NLO] or [Kashpirovskiy] [expansions unknown]. Nonetheless, an instance about which Kh. Zags informed the journalists can in no way be put in the routine category. The point being that the city electoral commission has had to act the part of... respondent at a session of the court.

Here are some additions to what was said at the press conference. A small public organization, not long emerged in the world, decided to put up its candidates for deputy in several okrugs. The city electoral commission refused to register it.

Without going into the essence of the investigation into the conflict which arose—this is the subject of a separate discussion—we shall acquaint the reader with what happened subsequently. The public organization brought an action against the city electoral commission. The Oktyabrskiy Rayon Court promptly examined the case without long procrastination and obliged the electoral commission to register the candidates who had been put up. The court's decision in this case was final and not subject to appeal.

Well, there you are. Similar situations will, most likely, in time become a customary matter—we are, after all, building a law-based state, and any infringement of human rights will be examined by the court. Meanwhile what happened was something new.

"The position of the gorkom [city party committee] at the elections," A. Klautsen, first secretary, said in his speech, "was defined by its recent plenum. Our efforts are geared to the formation of a deputy corps of the rayon and city soviets which is to realize in practice Lenin's slogan 'All Power to the Soviets!'"

"We must organize relations with the Latvian People's Front," A. Klautsen went on to observe, "by proceeding from the maximum of contacts, a search for compromise decisions and support for the candidates for deputy who are capable of tackling socioeconomic problems. It is ultimately not that material whom the candidate represents, his political and practical qualities are far more important. Unfortunately, our appeals and our position have not been supported in the People's Front Duma. In addition, a struggle against the Communist Party's representatives at the elections has been declared. For this reason the gorkom has had to change tactics. It is recommended that the primary party organizations agree to contacts with the rank and file of the People's Front and support in concert the most fitting candidates. We appeal to all public organizations to march with us in a united front and seek the election to the soviets of all candidates who support our platform."

A. Klautsen called on the journalists of television, radio and a number of newspapers to abandon bias, cease persecution of A. Rubiks, USSR people's deputy and chairman of the city soviet executive committee, and illustrate all events of public life in equitable manner.

Then journalists' questions were answered. Gorkom secretaries and the first secretaries of all six capital raykoms [rayon executives committees] took part in the press conference. Officials of the gorkom and city soviet executive committee, the city committee of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League and the People's Control Committee were present also.

Gorbunov on Elections, Latvian Issues

90UN0338A Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 7 Nov 89 pp 1, 2

[Report on interview with Chairman of the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet A. Gorbunov by SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA correspondent V. Smetannikov: "In the Name of Humane Objective"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Smetannikov] This time, the October Holidays coincided with the election campaign for the local organs of people's power in the republic. The revolutionary slogan "All power to the soviets!" is being brought back in the initial meaning it had in 1905 and 1917.

If we were to talk about the lasting values of the October Revolution, they were formulated 72 years ago in a mathematically laconic and precise manner: "Plants to the workers!", "Peace to the peoples!"... However, Anatoliy Valeryanovich, let us dwell on the appeal "Power to the soviets" in more detail.

It was clear to the participants in the revolution that the power actually belonged to the Provisional Government. The soviets had power only at the local level, and then only in some places. Therefore, then, in 1917, there was no doubt as to who the power was to be taken away from.

What about now? Who is to yield power at present? What do you, a USSR people's deputy, a member of the supreme organs of state power of our country and our republic, consider to be the specific meaning of the restoration of the revolutionary slogan "All power to the soviets!"? What will it do for the people who not so long ago actually confirmed the candidacies which were picked ahead of time and not at all by them rather than elected deputies?

[Gorbunov] The power will be yielded by the departments of which we have a great number and variety, by the conglomerate of the administrative-command system. They are already yielding it, as was shown by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviets which are held in a way new in principle. If we are to refer to people (allow me not to resort to the word "mass"; something nondescript and amorphous shines through it) they will be able to participate in the process of people's power more.

One more thing: The soviets should be given full power in their jurisdiction. Given this, no superior organ of state power will be able to undertake anything within the jurisdiction of a soviet without its consent. I believe it is realistic.

I happen to hear complaints: Here we go, the party is being deprived of its influence. I do not agree with the skeptics. Indeed, the principle in keeping with which all issues were coordinated with the party organs and later technically with the soviets has outlived itself. However, Communists will become members of the soviets. As they say, God himself meant for them to play first fiddle there. The party is going to exercise its influence through political methods rather than declarations.

Furthermore, the soviets used to be essentially subordinated to the executive organs, that is, they were under the influence of their own executive committees. The apparatus made virtually all decisions. This is changing. It is changing not by virtue of an order but because life itself prompts it. However, we should not take it to the other extreme: that, supposedly, the executive committee will turn out to be bound hand and foot either deferring to the past session of the soviet or anticipating the forthcoming one with alarm. The soviet should not oversee the executive committee in trifling matters and interfere with its economic and social activities on any pretext. However, the soviet will indeed manage the executive organ subordinated to it in matters of strategy.

Even this (perhaps, simplified) enumeration means that the slogan "All power to the soviets!" is being asserted. Certainly, the degree of efficiency of its renaissance will depend on the kind of deputies elected, on their personality and business traits.

[Smetannikov] Apparently, the most interesting and resourceful initiatives of the local soviets will be not only supported but also developed by the superior echelons of state power.

[Gorbunov] Undoubtedly so. However, this will depend to a great degree on the laws the USSR Supreme Soviet will pass.

[Smetannikov] At present, its second session is under way. You are participating in it as directly as possible. Which of the draft laws under discussion appear most significant to you, the laws playing a decisive role in the future of our republic?

[Gorbunov] Unfortunately, fundamental laws defining the economic reform have not yet been adopted at this session. If we may say so, the laws on property, on the unified system of taxation, on the land, and on the foundations of local self-government are still in production. The issues of cooperatives were considered only in part, only in reference to procurement activities. There are also other drafts: they are at the stage of final preparation. However, later they will provide a legal guarantee of various transformations in the state. We have not yet touched another "package" of drafts which concerns the renewal of the soviet federation.

At times, I am very unhappy myself with our protracted deliberations on what seems to be a quite clear issue. However, let us be fair: In Western countries, they discuss one amendment for weeks if not months. In our enormous country, the same issue has different aspects in different regions. This may serve as a small justification for the protracted debate. If we are to adopt fundamental laws we should polish them thoroughly so that they would be of high quality, if I may use this expression, so that they would benefit the economy, the political sphere, and everyday life of people, and so that they would be unambiguous and would not be interpreted variously. Otherwise, it will turn out that "laws are made to be broken."

Even the experience of the republic Supreme Soviet suggests that sometimes clarifications of the law are needed before the law is adopted. This is the first sign of things not working out. If a law can be interpreted variously it will not gain real strength.

Specialists such as lawyers, economists, and professional politicians are needed in order to create laws and discuss the drafts... They are also needed to work out the resolutions of local soviets. The pitch of meetings has not passed yet. Will our voters be capable of spotting among the candidates people who say little but are intelligent, who will come up with real ideas for self-government? After all, organic fusion is necessary in putting together any soviet: on the one hand, people's power, extensive representation of the social strata, on the other hand, the presence of people generating ideas, specialists in various fields rather than amateurs. However, it seems to me that ensuring such fusion at the current elections to the local soviets is going to be extremely difficult. If various political and national ambitions prevail this will happen to the detriment of the soviets.

It is desirable for the public organizations, associations, and groups to lay the democratic foundations of our society together acting, of course, within the framework of legislation. If they do not proceed from these principles they will begin slowing down the political and legal reform greatly, incidentally, as well as the economic reform.

[Smetannikov] A couple days ago, a republic Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] report on the socio-economic development of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] in 9 months of this year was published. The introduction to the report is not at all rosy:

"The development of the national economy of the republic in the current year has proceeded under difficult conditions. The rates of economic growth have declined, the output of many of the most significant types of industrial products has decreased; the volumes of production and procurement of meat and eggs have declined. The uncontrolled growth of the monetary income of the populace has exacerbated the situation in the consumer market. The shortage of a number of necessities has worsened. An increase in the average prices at which goods are bought has occurred. The commissioning of housing and many facilities of social infrastructure has declined."

You would agree that this gives rise to concern, all the more so because Latvia is to switch to economic accountability and economic independence on 1 January which is less than 2 months away. Here we go, the situation is, frankly speaking, alarming. Will this not jeopardize the plans made?

[Gorbunov] This is a very serious issue. Improvements in the standard of living of the populace of a particular region are associated with economic accountability, so as to actually implement the main principle of socialism: You live just as well as you work. I will say frankly: I was sure that the transition to economic accountability in the republic will proceed with more confidence and efficiency.

Of course, we are going to ensure that the relations of Latvia with other republics are based on clear-cut contracts which would provide for firm responsibility for their mutual fulfillment.

Now it has become a virtual fashion to accuse the center of everything when the problems of economics are at issue. However, I believe that anyone would grasp the impossibility of doing without the state order even now unless we want to destabilize the economy completely. There has got to be a state order in strategic industries and spheres. However, it is necessary to provide raw and other materials and subcontracted parts for it. Otherwise, we will really mess things up!

I understand that there is no period of transition without complications. Still, a purposeful transformation would be better. The economic mechanism is not too complicated in order to understand how it should operate, at least in the general outline. However, it is a clear outline that has been lacking thus far.

[Smetannikov] Apparently, it makes a lot of sense for the new soviets to vigorously interfere in the management and economic processes in their jurisdictions. Constructive, alternative proposals, drafts, ideas may appear...

[Gorbunov] Indeed, we very much need nonconventional and even radical proposals. I am aware that radicalism may border on a certain kind of extremism or something of that nature. Extremism may be manifested not only in interethnic relations, in the political sphere, but also in strictly economic endeavors. However, I believe that there will be no proper forward movement unless radical proposals are made.

Such proposals may be submitted locally, for example, from the recently formed Baltic Parliamentary Group of USSR People's Deputies, a sort of interregional group of the Baltic area. Their purpose is to coordinate their activities. After all, the situations characteristic of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have a lot in common. It is another matter that the aspirations of the Baltic Parliamentary Group should not be destructive in nature. The group has stated that it is going to pursue most beneficial goals, in particular, use "the intellectual and organizational potential of the deputies of Baltic republics in order to implement and defend democratic principles in the operations of the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies"—this is what the declaration of the Baltic Parliamentary Group says. It may be that our group (I agree to join it) will play a good role.

[Smetannikov] You know, Anatoliy Valeryanovich, it sometimes seems to me that something in the nature of political literacy classes has to be set up at present, when everyone is ready to become a politician. After all, the schools of management are appearing in order to develop our economy which are an absolutely new phenomenon. Several years ago, it was inconceivable.

In the first years of the revolution, our grandfathers also studied politics, and successfully, until the unassailable opinion of one person came to dominate, and politics essentially became a forbidden fruit. Perhaps, this is the reason why we, including many USSR deputies, lack the elementary standards of discussion, the skill of defending one's position, the ideas of socialism and of October so badly...

[Gorbunov] These standards are necessary. They are indispensable. Actually, they constitute one of the traits of the moral image of society. Mastering these standards is in store for the new membership of the soviets. After all, if we are to talk about the most desirable outcome of the elections, they should represent both all social strata and all political orientations. However, we really do not have to become desperate if it does not work out. After all, essentially we do not have experience with democratic elections. Meanwhile, practice is the criterion of truth. It will make corrections on its own.

[Smetannikov] Actually, just as we do not have experience with renewing the Soviet federation...

[Gorbunov] Which principle should the Supreme Soviet comply with? Should it proceed from the general to the partial or from the partial to the general? This is an eternal philosophical issue, all the more so because in a real situation you cannot always act in an academic manner. Thus far, as I have already said, the renewal of the Soviet federation has not come up in the discussion in the USSR Supreme Soviet; there have only been declarations and good wishes. Once the law on property is adopted (it is frequently called Law No 1) it will provide a firm foundation for discussing the forms of the federation.

I cannot conceive of how the land, minerals, forests, and other natural assets in the territory of the republic may not belong to its residents. It is another matter how this property is managed, how it is actually owned. This is a complex issue.

I see the future of Latvia exactly within the Soviet federation. As such, the federation has been designated: the union of free republics with equal rights. However, we cannot draw a new pattern rashly and immediately find ourselves in a completely different situation. As I understand it, we need to proceed step by step. Haste will accomplish nothing good.

The proposals made by the Baltic republics with a view to renewing the federation are gaining an increasing number of proponents in the Supreme Soviet. The reason is not found in the fact that, supposedly, we have the best proposals. Let there be concepts from other regions. It is quite probable that they will turn out to be more perfect and well-grounded than ours. You would agree that it is impossible to make the tremendous Soviet state uniform: Proposals from different republics will differ, if only in part. This is not bad. It is important to begin implementing them. Alas, we the deputies are procrastinating in this regard.

At present, M.S. Gorbachev constantly supports us despite the initiatives of the Baltic republics having been given an almost hostile reception initially (for example, at the Congress) by some people ("Why should the Baltic area be the first to do it, why not Russia?"). Moreover, he said on one occasion that the support should be greater; after all, we are taking a degree of risk. Substantial flaws may be found in the models proposed from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia (as Shakespeare said once, time is the best judge). In this event, other union republics will avoid mistakes.

[Smetannikov] A good number of new laws and still more draft laws and concepts have appeared in our republic over the years of perestroyka. I will not dwell on them specifically. However, some residents of Latvia find in them individual contradictions to the USSR Constitution, to human rights commonly accepted in the world. The reader of our newspaper Yu. Los has sent a short but expressive letter to the editorial office in conjunction with this: "Could it be that Comrade A. Gorbunov indeed needs a repetition of the Estonian scenario (strikes, a meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, a corresponding ukase)? Could we do without it? I would like Comrade A. Gorbunov to respond to me in the newspaper."

I am taking advantage of this opportunity and passing the questions on to you, Anatoliy Valeryanovich.

[Gorbunov] There is a reception room at the Presidium of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet: Any citizen may bring his complaint there. However, at present we feel that it does not suffice to merely consider petitions. There must be a department for the legal protection of individuals at the presidium. Its tasks are considerably more profound and extensive than reviewing complaints.

A law concerning the legal protection of individuals is also necessary. A draft law is already being worked on: It is designed so that any citizen of the republic will be entitled to appeal any decision not only by an organ of state government but also by an organ of authority. Incidentally, the future Constitutional Court (or Committee—the name is not important) also expects to be involved in defending the rights of citizens.

As far as the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet and its presidium are concerned we take care to be guided by the principle of equality of all citizens under the law in preparing draft laws. The laws should be in the interest of all citizens without exception.

I will respond to the questions by your reader in brief: "Certainly, I do not want it. I believe that we can do without excesses."

All of us, residents of a small republic, should think so as for its population to live in concord and mutual respect. How are they to be found? The Latvian people feel for their culture, history, and language. The overly enthusiastic expression of this feeling sometimes causes the protest of the other part of the population which on occasion is subconscious. We need to solve this problem together. Despite not having arrived yet at a favorable outcome, we have already found a path toward it.

I look to the future with optimism. If we discuss all problems of the day in a democratic manner, if we make harmony and an improvement in the standard of living of the entire Latvian population our goal and strive to achieve this jointly, if we mutually understand what pains us and do everything in order to alleviate this pain, we will become convinced as a result that there are no antagonistic contradictions in our republic.

If the purpose is humane we will sooner or later arrive at it. We will live in peace and concord which is what the Great October Social Revolution was accomplished for. We will live so that honest work, love for one's own and other children, charity, respect for others and, ultimately, for oneself always remain the guarantee of confidence in the coming day.

[Smetannikov] Thank you for the interview.

Lithuanian CP Seeks Independence in Stages

LD1312221389 Klaipeda MARITIME PRESS SERVICE in Russian 1000 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] The Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee has addressed an action program to the voters of Lithuania on the threshold of the elections. It reflects all aspects of life—the economy, culture, rights, foreign relations, ecology, and other matters. It is also noted that the aim of the Lithuanian Communist Party is an independent and sovereign Lithuania. But in realistically assessing the situation, the Lithuanian Communist Party considers that we must move toward independence gradually, in stages.

At the first stage we should strive for equitable and mutually advantageous cooperation with republics on contractual bases. The nearest aim is a soveriegn and free Lithuanian state in a new union of Soviet republics. For this we need full economic independence, a demarcation of the political functions of the union and of the republics, a multiparty system, the solution of all problems of a social and legal order, and other matters.

Lithuanian SSR Law on National Minorities

90UN0442A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 26 Nov 89 p 1

[Law on National Minorities of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic]

[Text] The historical path trodden by people of different nationalities living in Lithuania is closely interwoven with the fate of the Lithuanian people and makes for the community of common goals.

The Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] guarantees all its citizens, regardless of their national affiliation, equal political, economic and social rights and liberties, recognizes national identity and the continuity of culture and encourages the manifestation of self-awareness and self-expression.

The inhabitants of the republic of all nationalities are obliged to observe the constitution and laws of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, protect its state sovereignty and territorial integrity, participate in the creation of an independent democratic Lithuanian state and respect its official language, culture, traditions and customs.

Article 1. Guided by the principles of the equality of the nations and humanism, the Lithuanian SSR guarantees all national minorities residing on its territory free development and has a respectful attitude toward each nationality and language.

Any discrimination whatever on a racial, national, language or other basis associated with nationality is prohibited and is punished by Lithuanian SSR laws in the established procedure.

Article 2. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR of all nationalities enjoy the protection of the state on an equal basis.

With regard for the interests of national minorities the Lithuanian SSR guarantees on the basis of legislation and in the established procedure:

—the right to assistance on the part of the state in the development of national culture and education;

—the right to tuition in the native language by way of the creation of the conditions for the existence of preschool establishments, lessons, general schools and the training of educators and teachers;

—the right to a press and information in the native language;

—the right to confess any religion or not to do so and conduct religious and national ritual ceremonies in the native language;

—the right to unite in national cultural organizations;

—the right to establish cultural relations with compatriots outside of the republic;

—the right to representation in the organs of state power of all levels on the principles of general, equal and direct elections;

—the right of citizens of the Lithuanian SSR of all nationalities to hold any office in the organs of state power and administration, at enterprises and in establishments and organizations.

Article 3. The higher and secondary specialized educational institutions of Lithuania undertake, depending on requirements and possibilities, per an arrangement with state or public organizations, the training of specialists satisfying national cultural requirements. If necessary, citizens of the republic may be sent for training to other states.

Article 4. Persons of different nationalities communicate between themselves in the language acceptable to them. Lithuanian is used in state and other establishments. The leaders of establishments constantly in contact with the population provide for conditions for service thereof in Lithuanian and, if necessary, in the language of the majority population of a given locality.

Article 5. By decision of the local soviets of people's deputies inscriptions of an information nature employed in public places on the territory on which a national minority resides may be made, along with Lithuanian, in the language of the national minority also.

Article 6. National historical and cultural monuments of significance for national minorities and for Lithuania also are part of the culture of the republic and are preserved by the state.

Article 7. Cultural organizations of the national minorities have the right to create cultural-educational establishments on the basis of their own resources also.

Article 8. Each citizen of the Lithuanian SSR has upon obtaining an ID free choice of nationality in accordance with the nationality of both his parents or one of them.

No one can be forced to prove his nationality.

Compulsion to renounce one's nationality is forbidden.

Article 9. Cultural organizations of national minorities are founded and function and their activity is terminated in the legislatively established procedure.

The activity of organizations of national minorities may not be contrary to the constitution and laws of the Lithuanian SSR and the republic's interests.

Article 10. By decision of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and the local soviets of people's deputies public commissions for national minority affairs may be formed under their auspices. The composition of the commissions is agreed with public organizations of the national minorities. The jurisdiction of these commissions is determined by the authorities which form them.

A nationalities committee deciding the cultural and social needs of the national minorities is formed under the auspices of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers.
[Signed] V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
[Signed] L. Sabutis, secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
Vilnius, 23 November 1989.

Sajudis Official Defines Democracy

LD0712140089 Vilnius KOMJAUNIMO TIESA in Lithuanian 7 Nov 89 p 1

[Article by Arvydas Juozaitis [Sajudis Seimas Council member], entitled "Democracy—Not Only Sajudis, Anymore."]

[Text] The summer of 1988 resembled an explosion. It was an amazing beginning that had engulfed us all in waves of openness and has brought us an unbelievable result—DEMOCRACY. Sajudis has begun and is continuing the most important task in this land. All those who attempted to resist it, fell by the wayside in an uneven battle. When a majority believes in democracy it cannot be stymied.

Following the Founding Congress of Sajudis something new began to take place; moreover we did not sense it most probably as the tone of democracy was gradually replaced by by the tone of independence. Initially it was difficult to orient oneself as to which of the two was the more important "at this time." Proclaiming the goal of independence was braver and more inviting. Many of us also had understood that our hope for democracy had been lost along with our independence. Having lost our state and our form of self-protection we have automatically lost our democracy

Later, during November and February we experience several crises. The government attacked Sajudis for one thing or another, however, mainly—for seeking sovereignty. This generated strength of itself and began to constatntly augment the numbers of open supporters of independence. Such persistence brought victory in the March elections and brought the "old guard," who defended the USSR Federation, to a conclusive end.

Members of the Lithuanian CP started to reorient themselves, during the summer months; this orientation ended with the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [CC CPSU] Declaration, "Concerning the Situation In the Baltic Republics." Lithuanian communists decided to establish their own Communist Party. An independent party, however, constitutes—the embryo of an independent state. If this can be brought to a realization, future Lithuania will acquire the strongest and truly powerful ally. This can be perceived by anyone in posession of sound reason.

Sajudis itself has no right to ignore this fact. This is not because a majority of Sajudis communists have been and continue to be originators of changes within the party. A new fellow-traveler is coming into focus perhaps a unionist. We must define the new relationship with him and evaluate him against the backgroud of our goals.

They are two: Democracy and State.

Time does not stand still. Elections are approaching.

Even now one can hear some rubbing their hands and hoping to redistribute the government and perhaps even seize it. A multitude of voices can be heard of those who seeek and desire to govern. Agitations are starting, in which any potential candidate talks about independence and forecasts it. Everything appears in order... But is it really so?

Elections—are a wondrous expression of public desires and opinion. Elections—are the only means of guaranteeing a tie between the government and the nation. Elections—are not solely democracy, they are also an examination given by it.

We have come to democratic elections. It is difficult to believe but nevertheless a fact. However, it is difficult for us to comprehend not only the very fact but also its essence. Democratic elections—are simply a part of democratic existence. Following such elections a defeated enemy is not destroyed but one continues to live with him and he may retaliate in the following elections. Furthermore: in this type of elections, only the existence of a serious opponent allows one to discuss democracy.

That is not all, however.

An opponent, in a democracy, is not an enemy. In the event this difference is not understood and not practiced in actuality the public becomes open to a hysteria rule. This type of hysteria was aroused in Germany in 1933 when Hitler came to power through democratic ELECTIONS.

He came to destroy democracy.

Lithuania is not Germany, even our aims are lesser. We don't have a Thousand-year Old Reich. We have however, and are restoring a State which labor is currently turning the heads of some, already.

The radical "independence seekers," (may the reader forgive me for putting this term in quotes) raise the slogan: "For the Supreme Soviet—But Only Those Determined to Vote For Independence, but No Others." Those others—scientists, instructors and individuals, who know government. Not to elect them? Fine. "Independence seekers" will proclaim what they have promised and —what will they do, the following day? They will set themselves free creating a vacuum in Lithuania—a space for chaos and destruction? However, perhaps they will interdict all others and will not disperse?...

The problem of proclaiming independence is in fact—no longer a problem. With the approach of February, it will become progressively easier to proclaim it. However, it will become more difficult to implement it. More and more reason, diplomacy and experience will be required.

The problem of "independence seekers": is not so simple and not just resulting from their slogans. Their biggest transgression—the image of an enemy. Moreover, it is not simply that of an enemy, but of an especially powerful and eternal enemy. Do we have communists and government officials among us? Fine—they are all enemies, all mercenaries and colloborators. They should be despised and controlled! They should not be trusted, for they indeed, do not desire a free Lithuania! That's how it is.

Thus the totalitarian model is in plain sight. There are several "activists" who know and promise that having acquired power they will make Lithuania into "what it ought to become." That is the reason why everyone should join ranks (around them) even now and become disciplined and obedient. Furthermore no more talk of democracy. "We will discuss democracy later...."

This will not succeed.

Success will not be attained in oratorical promises and also, in winning our intellects. We have to do everything in our power to vanquish this line of thought. Moreover, we shall acomplish this. We must accomplish this. In the name of democratic Lithuania.

Democracy does not postpone its birth. Having forced its way into Lithuania one and a half years ago it is already developing on its own. It demands loyalty and is not lenient toward either Sajudis members or any others. The greatest virtue provided by democracy is—the stimulation of people's spirit and intellect. It is—no one's property and that is why it can not be stopped by an ignorant hand taking over a newspaper's editorial office or TV programming. It can force its way through other windows, (not necessarily those of Sajudis) leaving its opponents in the shadows. It does nothing else to them.

The system under which we have come to maturity knows how to struggle against the fist and the assembled "activists." It does not know however, how to oppose democracy and is vanquished by it.

The good things brought by democracy do not recognize any party barriers. If we all place our trust in it we will become a nation of the state and any party will fade away if it loses this trust.

Lithuanian communists are becoming a normal party. That is, partis (Latin—a part) of this public where all those who acknowledge democracy have a right to exist. Most probably they symbolize the paradoxical path of our nation's recovery best of all: we are returning to the state to the extent of our acceptance of democracy in our midst. Truly Lithuania is now being restored by the spirit and not the fist. Reason and responsibility—are the greatest allies for us and the communists.

(Let us also not forget that with the help of democrac Hungarian communists became something else....)

However, didn't Sajudis strive after all that? Let us place our hands over our hearts and reflect: did we create it as a force that had to confront evil? We created it in order not have any evil remain and so that we may not have to search for it by artificial means. It is retreating—let us be glad rather than to try running after it. Let our tenacity be wise and thus soon there will come a time when Sajudis will melt into a DEMOCRATIC LITHUANIA.

Baltic Economic Autonomy Law Passed

90UN0466A Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 28 Nov 89 p 1

[Report by ELTA special correspondent B. Buchyalis: "The Baltic Express is on Its Way"]

[Text] Moscow—Yesterday, at 1720 hours Moscow time, the USSR Supreme Soviet enacted the law on the economic independence of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

The Baltic express was finally given permission to leave the Kremlin. An important part was played by M.S. Gorbachev, who had requested that the part of the sitting of the Supreme Soviet in which the question of the Baltic was to be discussed be postponed until the evening sitting. His request to the 416 Supreme Soviet members assembled prior to the final sitting of the second session was conveyed by A.I. Lukyanov. The deputies raised no objections, but for us the waiting went on for a further 5 hours.

Five hours did not mean that much, I admit. After all, the Baltic economic train had been standing in a siding for more than 5 months—since the time when, at the end of July, the Supreme Soviet, following certain discussion of the draft, deferred it until the fall. It seemed at one time that it would be uncoupled altogether and returned to the depot at which we had arrived in the summer of 1940.

A multitude of various reasons were thought up for this. However, the main argument, perhaps, was considered the fact that all the republics should move toward economic independence in a concerted system. It was for the sake of this that the general principles of leadership of the economic and social sphere in the union republics, which people tried persistently to foist on us, were hastily carved out. But the Supreme Soviet rejected the document, although L.I. Abalkin, the country's vice premier, mounted the platform with it twice.

Yesterday Abalkin was the chief opponent of the draft law on the economic independence of the Baltic republics. He was at the podium almost an hour, and it is difficult to say whether in his heart he approved of the draft or whether, as before, he was disposed against it. He had, I believe, most likely reconciled himself to the idea that the law could no longer not be enacted and for this reason was quite indifferent in answering the deputies' questions.

Great interest, on the other hand, was displayed by the 400 deputies attending the evening sitting. There were many who simply could not wait to bury the bill. Some were intimidated by the probability of the departure of the Baltic republics from the USSR, the mere fact even of future, even if truncated, independence seemed odd to others. Some people even tossed out the following argument: In granting the Baltic people freedom we are insulting the rest of the republics.

In a word, the same performance which we had seen repeatedly when the time to adopt a serious decision had come. In addition, members of the Supreme Soviet from the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and the Central Asian republics, inspired by representatives of the Latvian and Estonian interfronts, moved onto the attack against the bill. Kazimera Prunskene approached the microphone twice, and serious arguments in defense of the bill were adduced by Anatoliy Gorbunov, chairman of the Latvian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Mikhail Bronshteyn, member of the Estonian Academy of Sciences, and, still, stopping the enraged audience was difficult.

However, keeping a watchful eye on the hall was M.S. Gorbachev. It was clear that he was concerned for results of the discussion favorable to us. Many were going so far as to say backstage that this law would be a good card in his forthcoming meeting with U.S. President Bush.

Nonetheless, at some point it seemed that M.S. Gorbachev had suddenly begun to tack between the supporters and opponents of the bill.

The voting took more than 10 minutes. Here are the results. Some 296 members of the Supreme Soviet voted for the bill, 67, against, and 37 abstained.

The text of the bill had been distributed to members of the Supreme Soviet prior to the start of the sitting. Its first article read as follows:

Within the jurisdiction of the highest organs of state power and administration in the republics switching to economic independence are:

1) the adoption of legislative instruments providing for the restructuring and functioning of the republic's socioeconomic system;

2) possession, use and disposal of land and other natural resources on its territory in the interests of the republic and the USSR;

3) economic regulation of the activity of all sectors and subjects of the economy on the territory of the republic;

4) leadership of the republic's financial system and the activity of the republic's banks (aside from establishments of the USSR Gosbank [State Bank] system);

5) formation of the system of the republic's state income in accordance with legislation of the republics and the USSR and the formation of independent republic and local budgets;

6) determination of differentiated terms of pay, pensions, scholarships and aids and determination of the pricing procedure on republic territory;

7) leadership of the republic's foreign economic activity, given observance of the agreed rules determined between the republics and the USSR;

8) administration of state natural resources, determination of the maximum limits, quotas and legal provisions of the use of nature and also the issuance connected with this of authorization and the imposition of prohibitions on enterprise, organization and farm activity;

9) the creation of a financial market with the attraction of resources of other republics and foreign countries and also all- union financial resources on a mutually profitable basis.

As I have already mentioned, L. Abalkin submitted three amendments thereto on behalf of the government. They are essentially of no appreciable significance for our economic independence. Finally, the law is within several days to be published in the press, and we will all be able to evaluate both its merits and shortcomings. I believe that this comparison will be of interest not only to economists but also all inhabitants of the republic.

But the main thing today is that the economic express of the three Baltic republics is on its way. Of course, there will be many obstacles—natural and artificial—in its path. But I have no doubt that there will be an ever increasing number of passengers declaring a wish to travel the same route. And M.S. Gorbachev, who knows, will have to put together new trains.

Belorussian Student Conference Concludes

90UN0299B Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 4 Nov 89 p 1

[BELTA report: "Restructuring Life, Restructuring Oneself Also"]

[Text] A republic student conference devoted to problems associated with the restructuring of the higher schools, the studies and everyday life of young men and women, and the development of democracy concluded on 3 November in Minsk. Many valuable proposals, in whose formulation thousands of students who had sent their best representatives to the forum as delegates had participated, were heard in the report of V.V. Kudlash, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Belorussian Leninist Communist Youth League, and the speeches.

The main work at the conference was performed in discussion clubs. Arguments were particularly keen over the specific paths of the restructuring of public education. All were unanimous that, despite certain changes in this sphere, no fundamental change had occurred. Appropriations for education remain low, as before. The latter has not been earmarked as a priority sphere of vital importance to the state and not enough is being done, as before, to enhance the independence of the higher educational institutions and technical schools and broaden the possibilities of student self-management. The current practice in allocating young specialists gave rise to many questions also. Questions of the role and place of the social sciences were discussed, too.

The discussion concerning students' labor activity proved interesting. The undoubted benefit of the student construction detachments being noted, it was decided to step up propaganda on this movement. The speakers proposed a revision of standard labor safety documents with regard for the wishes of student construction detachment militants, an enhancement of the rights of the construction detachment staffs, and the formation of special permanent supply depots.

Many varied proposals were expressed and questions on an increase in the independence of the Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] organizations, financial independence included, and on the prevention of interference by the party authorities in the work of the Komsomol were examined in the discussion.

It was observed during the discussion of social amenity issues that miserly amounts were being allocated for construction materials to build student hostels and dining halls. There was discussion of the need for extra payments to students forced to rent private apartments and of an increase in the per diem allowances when they do industrial practice. Those assembled supported a proposal to the effect that the students should have the right to enjoy privileges constantly when buying tickets for intercity travel. It was noted that it was essential to create a student social assistance fund.

Discussing the question of national culture and language, those assembled were unable to reach a common opinion. It was decided to withdraw the resolution on this issue, work on it further, and examine it at the next conference.

An importantspeech to the participants in the student forum was delivered by Ye.Ye. Sokolov, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee.

Speech by Belorussian State Planning Chief

WA0612213689 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 3 Nov 89 p 3

[Speech by V.F. Kebich, USSR people's deputy and chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, at the USSR Supreme Soviet Session"; date not specified]

[Text] Esteemed comrade deputies: As we formulate the plan and budget for 1990 nothing is simple for any of us and we all feel to some degree or other the indefinite nature of a situation in which the new is only just taking shape and when there is still not always an opportunity to abandon the old and, as they now say, unpopular methods. And, of course, this also leaves a deep impression on both the plan and the budget.

The Belorussian republic also feels this complexity in full measure. The more so since next year we shall be switching to the new management conditions on the basis of self-management and self-financing.

One very important issue in the conditions of self-management is the fair allocation of the output produced in the region, and this is of special importance under conditions of market imbalance. It is a question of regions needing the right to obtain a definite proportion of the output that they produce.

Notwithstanding we must look at things realistically and agree that what is important for a territory is a direct interest, on the part both of the local soviets and of the labor collectives, in producing additional output for those goods that are everywhere in short supply.

This is the more true since for many goods, the amounts available for the population in the republic are below the all-union level. For example, in 1988 some 92 out of every 100 families had refrigerators, but the figure for our republic was 85. And this at a time when the Minsk Refrigerator Plant will provide a little over 54,000 of them for the republic out of a total 1989 output of 715,000 units. In October, for example, the plant was literally overloaded with finished output because of the complex shipment situation, and even stood idle for 2 days for the same reason. But in the stores refrigerators have been back ordered for many months. You will agree that it is difficult to explain all this to the public.

We believe that fair normative exports should be established for all the most important goods produced in the republic. This applies equally to production-technical output. We see serious issues concerning the new economic mechanism that have not been worked through to the end.

These are all problems of balancing the consumer market, the output planned, and work with material resources.

The new principles of planning material-technical supplies by giving priority to increasing the proportion of direct links has significantly altered the plan balance at the level of the central planning organs. If we talk about priorities then they do not guarantee the proportional development of the national economy overall. The principle of satisfying the needs of so-called nonpriority directions by switching to direct links is a cause of great concern to us under present conditions. This year's experience has shown the danger of this approach.

The lack of direction in this process, which maintains and develops the diktat of the suppliers associated with the monopoly position in production, has revealed a whole series of negative phenomena in the process of providing for the national economy. Unjustified price increases for output supplied through direct contracts, sometimes by factors of 10, cannot be called anything but industrial speculation since the producers obtain the raw materials and energy resources used at state prices.

It is impossible to permit a situation in which output in acute short supply is translated into direct links without any in-depth analysis of the justification for this or the feasibility of controlling this process. If I may say so, this is an "ostrich policy" that on the one hand conceals the imbalance in the national economic plan, and on the other deepens it. But these links are being developed only slowly and in some places have been allowed to drift. And it seems to me that the USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] and its territorial services should be the direct organizer and partner for a specific period of time, while the goods in acute short supply should be included in state orders.

At present there is no mechanism for this. Accordingly, in order to provide material-technical supply for the 1990 plan it is necessary to provide for management of the process of the transfer to direct economic links and establish maximum levels for prices for output supplied under the terms of those direct links, establishing increases of no more than 10 to 15 percent above wholesale prices, and also to introduce a system that provides economic interest for enterprises to develop the production of output that is in short supply. At the same time there must be a sharp increase in economic responsibility for failure to meet delivery obligations. Suppliers should not have any opportunity to compensate themselves easily for fines imposed for failure to deliver, or to deviate from contracts concluded by means of unjustifiably high prices. Failure to make deliveries should invariably bring to the enterprise a worsening of its financial position and the threat of bankruptcy. The more so since delivery discipline is deteriorating sharply with each passing day.

Matters concerning the cleanup following the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station [AES] occupy a large place in the republic plan.

Agriculture has suffered the greatest harm. More than 18 percent of agricultural land in the republic has been contaminated with radioactivity. A large number of populated points must be transferred to ecologically clean areas on tight schedules, and it is necessary to create the necessary infrastructure and production base there.

Some 106,000 hectares have already been withdrawn from agricultural use. From next year almost another 250,000 hectares of land will be additionally withdrawn, and this will result in reduced production of milk and meat.

Taking into account the need to provide the population with meat at the norms recommended for this zone, we shall require an additional 100,000 tons.

Proceeding from what has been said, we must once again return to a review of the volumes of meat supplied to the all-union stocks.

We also need major capital investments and material-technical resources.

Within the republic a state program for the cleanup following the accident has been drawn up with the thorough involvement of all those interested. It has been reviewed and adopted at meetings of the labor collectives in the stricken regions and at a session of the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet.

We are being met with understanding in the CPSU Central Committee and government of the country. However, The attitude of some ministries and departments toward this very acute problem is making us have serious misgivings that the state program for the cleanup following the accident may be stretched out over a long period and its content significantly watered down.

The labor-loving and patient rural inhabitants of Soviet Belorussia need urgent help from the entire state and all the union republics, and your help, comrade people's deputies.

We are asking the USSR Supreme Soviet to approve the program adopted by the Belorussian SSR Supreme Soviet for the cleanup following the accident at the Chernobyl AES and to give it the status of a law, and henceforth include a separate section for it in the plan.

With regard to other sections of the republic plan, it is intended to meet all 5-year plan targets. Thus, it is planned to increase national income 5.1 percent and over the 5-year period the volume of industrial output is to increase 31 percent, and the targets set for the 5-year plan for this will be reached in 4 years.

We are also aware that the state plan for the country's economic and social development has been formed by proceeding from the conditions of the new economic mechanism when the management of many economic processes has been transferred directly to enterprises and territories. Accordingly a whole series of specific measures with specific addresses and directives have been removed from the plan targets.

But the plan is realistic. And this realism and the guarantee of its success can be insured if they are absorbed into the consciousness of each worker and thus become a directive from below.

The 1990 plan has an unusually strong social thrust and unusually high growth rates for technically complex consumer goods through conversion at defense enterprises.

The plan is for the first time distinguished by its in-depth work on financial problems in the development of the economy, and thus—this is the main thing—it is permeated with a special concern for improving the well-being of the people.

Comrade delegates: Permit me on behalf of the group of people's deputies working in the Supreme Soviet, and also on behalf of the other people's deputies from the BSSR to propose that the 1990 plan and budget for the country be approved and every effort made to fulfill it. But in order to fulfill the plan we must be highly organized and have clear-cut discipline at all levels.

Ukrainian Student Union Sponsors Strike

LD1312201989 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] The Ukraine: On 11 December, students at Kiev schools of higher education went on strike in support of the appeal launched by A. Sakharov and a group of deputies. The strike was organized by the Union of Ukrainian Students which was founded on 10 December.

According to the declaration adopted at the congress which took place at the university of Kiev, this organization will campaign for students' rights and democracy at schools of higher learning.

Secretary Ivashko Visits Kiev Factory

90UN0336A Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 5 Nov 89 p 3

[RATAU report: "Multiplying the Contribution to Perestroyka"]

[Text] The century-plus history of Kiev's "Bolshevik" Plant is filled with striking pages. The celebrated "Shulyavskaya Republic" was created at the time of the first Russian revolution on the initiative of the workers of the enterprise. During the Great Patriotic War the outfit, evacuated to the Urals, very quickly assimilated the production of important military output and founded a new plant—the present "Uralkhimmash." Today the "Bolshevik" is a large-scale modern enterprise, approximately 86 percent of whose most important products corresponds to the world standard.

At the same time the enterprise workforce has every opportunity to make a substantial work addition and multiply its contribution to perestroyka. How to make full use of people's creative energy, commission economic management methods, take a step forward in raising the engineering level of production and solve social problems more rapidly were the subject of a speech at the time of a visit to the "Bolshevik" Plant on 4 November by V.A. Ivashko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee. He visited the shops, talked with the workers and engineering-technical personnel, met with the plant's party-industrial activists and answered numerous questions from the shopfloor.

In Machine Assembly Shop No 4 the first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee inspected linoleum-production machinery and had a conversation with the outfit of the team of A.I. Nesterenko, mechanical engineer emeritus of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], which is working on contract. He inquired after the organization of labor in this outfit, which is made up of 26 assembly worker-mechanics, 2 dispatchers, 3 crane operators and 2 warehouse workmen, its pay system and the extent to which the workers themselves had persuaded themselves of the advantage of the progressive form and whether they were posing the question of its extension at the enterprise.

This topic was continued in Machine Assembly Shop No 1, whose workers, led by team leader P.P. Fedorov, have set up the "Servis" cooperative for the maintenance of polymer equipment. Everyone is satisfied with the way it is working. It was emphasized that it is such cooperatives, which work honestly and selflessly and do not take advantage of the results of the work of others, which are needed today and that all the conditions for successful work should be created for them.

The discussions with plant workers M.V. Kantsedal, V.V. Kochegurov, I.A. Mikhalchenko, A.S. Pasternak, S.G. Grishchenko, A.T. Ovcharenko, A.I. Kulik and others dealt with today's place and role of the workforce in perestroyka and the great significance of its cohesion, enterprise and bold raising of the problems which exist in production and the social life of the neighborhood and the city, whatever this may concern—labor discipline, violations of public order, the sluggishness of executives responsible for providing people with products and the work of transport.

In the course of the conversations and also in the speeches of P.M. Kozachenko, leader of a composite team and secretary of the Boiler-Welding Shop party organization, V.A. Marchenko, mechanic and electrical engineer and secretary of the party organization of Machine Assembly Shop No 3, production engineer P.A. Netrebko and N.S. Lisovskiy, chairman of the plant workforce council, during the meeting with the activists a number of questions of social and political and socioeconomic life in the republic, which are troubling the "Bolshevik" workforce, was raised.

It was observed in the conversations that the working class was and remains the leading force of society. It is with its activity in the sphere of material production and active social position that the party connects the success of perestroyka. And the party organizations are called upon to make full use of the working class' political experience in the renovation of all spheres of our life and the stabilization of the situation in society. Wishes were expressed in this connection that the election campaign be conducted such as to ensure the working class' proper representation in the republic Supreme Soviet and local soviets of people's deputies.

Great attention during the meeting was paid to the solution of paramount socioeconomic problems. It was emphasized that the enterprise workforce should be more vigorous in enhancing the engineering standard and competitiveness of its products, introducing in all the production components full economic accountability and other progressive forms of the organization and stimulation of labor and in improving the work and recreational conditions of the members of the workforce.

The question of an increase in the manufacture of consumer goods was posed sharply during the meeting. After all, the contribution of the enterprise workforce to this extraordinarily important matter is extremely insignificant: the proportion of goods in the total product constitutes only 4.2 percent. The need for use to be made of the experience of other enterprises, of Kiev included, where specialized plants for the manufacture of products which people need are being created, was pointed out.

The first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee emphasized particularly that the difficult tasks of perestroyka may be accomplished successfully only given an utmost strengthening of plan, contract, engineering and labor discipline. Yet there are still frequent instances at the plant of defects in one and the same parts being put right several times over. Some 60-80 percent of the work planned for the month frequently has to be performed in the assembly shops in the last third of the month. Lateness and absenteeism have not been eradicated.

Practical improvements on these and other issues should be secured thanks to a fundamental upgrading of the work of the enterprise party organization. It is for this reason necessary to rethink from the viewpoint of an extension of democratization all areas of party work, establish the open competition of ideas and approaches and the collective formulation of an action program, organize people for its realization and see things through to completion, to the specific result.

V.A. Ivashko was accompanied by A.I. Korniyenko, member of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Kiev Gorkom [city party committee].

Explanations during familiarization with the plant were provided by V.A. Izvekov, general director of the enterprise, and P.S. Kalita, secretary of the party committee.

Report on Lvov Clash Critical of Officials

90UN0355A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 25 Nov 89 p 3

[Article by SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent in Lvov S. Yatsenko: "Having Muffled the Emotions"]

[Text] I will say frankly that the events of 1 October in Lvov on which our newspaper has already reported (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, 7 October 1989) prompted one to await the celebration of the 72d anniversary of the October Revolution with alarm. The memory was still alive of the evening when members of informal organizations provoked by false rumors concerning the supposed arrest of their associate literally stormed the building of the city Department of Internal Affairs and tore down the state flags of the USSR and the UkSSR [Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic], and there were injuries when the militia resorted to sticks. The next day a wave of warning protest strikes swept the city. Subsequently participants in a city meeting demanded that the incident be investigated and the persons responsible punished. A deadline was also set—15 October. Not only the oblast procuracy but also a specially assembled group of the USSR people's deputies engaged in the investigation.

However, the amount of work and the number of witnesses which had to be debriefed did not permit its timely completion. This very circumstance, plus, of course, the fact that people continued to gather downtown every day next to the flower bed where it is planned to erect a monument to T.G. Shevchenko, and to discuss what has happened heatedly, did not provide for particular optimism with regard to the forthcoming holiday. I believe it is necessary to explain what role the aforementioned "flower bed" plays in the sociopolitical life of Lvov.

Approximately a year ago, the discussion flared up: Where is the monument to T.G. Shevchenko to be erected? Some specialists and the local leadership opted for one location, and a majority of the citizens believed otherwise: only in the heart of downtown, next to the opera theatre. This is when a yellow-and-blue flag appeared. It was taken down on the instructions of local authorities, but it was raised again. At this location a stone with a portrait of the Kobza Player was set up. Those who wish to do so read their poetry, mainly on political topics, and issues of informal newspapers are devoted to the same. This unauthorized "information and propaganda center" is the barometer for political weather in Lvov. During all those days its hand pointed to inclement weather drawing closer. Having today's hindsight, events of the kind which later happened in Kishinev were expected.

However, the celebration was held. There was the traditional parade of troops and there was a demonstration of workers under state flags; there were songs and dances and no incidents at all. The yellow-and-blue flag flew peacefully at the flower bed.

Consolidation at this stage was not easy to ensure. It was achieved through the efforts of the state, party, and soviet organs, the leadership of the Lvov organization of the People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroyka, Rukh, and other quite radically disposed informal organizations which resolved to undertake a quiet and balanced mutual conversation and a search for common ground in the mutual interest. This was preceded by a broad-scale campaign in the local press in the course of which the authorities, the law enforcement organs, and the public stated their attitude toward the events of 1 October and the numerous incidents at various meetings and demonstrations associated with them which have aroused Lvov for more than a year now. The statements were frank, merciless, and self-critical.

The results of the work of the commission of deputies appeared in the press soon after the holiday. Members of the USSR Supreme Soviet V. Foteyev, I. Vakarchuk, Ya. Gil, and A. Rynka came to the conclusion that "the soviet and law-enforcement organs of the city of Lvov attempted to treat the incident on 1 October as just another event; they did not take exhaustive measures to eliminate its unfavorable consequences and to inform the entire population of the city truthfully about the event." The members of the commission stressed that this was even more necessary given that "the incident occurred against the background of a considerable increase in the crime rate (in the 8 months of this year, the overall number of crimes committed in the city increased by 80 percent compared to the same period of last year). Along with this, the movement for the restoration of the Ukrainian Catholic Church unfolding in Lvov and the extremist endeavors of some activists of individual informal organizations are creating additional tension. Representatives of the USSR and UkSSR MVD's [Ministry of Internal Affairs], who directed a considerable part of their efforts toward defending 'the honor of the uniform' of their subordinate organizations rather than finding the truth, were not a stabilizing factor in the situation."

There is a point in the conclusions of the commission which, in my mind, is the main one. The deputies believe that "the situation could have been stabilized through peaceful means taking into account the fact that, as some representatives of the MVD organs testify, initially the people assembled showed no hostile intent of any kind, and there was no need to use the so- called active defense measures."

Could the clash, which ended without fatalities due to chance alone, have been actually prevented?

There was such an opportunity. After all, there was the danger of the conflict swelling; the disturbances could have spread to the entire city. The poet R. Lubkivskiy and Deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet writer R. Fedoriv, who enjoy authority among the citizens of Lvov, showed their civic attitude. They addressed the crowd with words which got through to the people already prepared to riot. Need we say how difficult it was for them? However, I believe this was the very origin of what has made it possible to stabilize the situation in the city at present.

At present, Lvov is awaiting the results of the investigation of the incident by a prosecutor. At this point, a legal assessment of the events is important; everything needs to be translated into the language of law. Specific instigators and persons guilty of beating the people need to be found. At any rate, this is how the acting prosecutor of the oblast I. Zaplotinskiy explained the situation.

He said: "Despite the complexity and extent of the case, we will still complete its investigation before the 2-month deadline specified in the law." In the process, Ivan Dmitriyevich complained that the conclusions of the commission of deputies published prior to the completion of the investigation may naturally put undesirable pressure on its results.

The situation in Lvov remains tense nonetheless. Quite recently, the adherents of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church seized the Cathedral of the Transfiguration. The Orthodox believers are pleading with the authorities for justice. It is quite understandable that soviet organs cannot interfere in inter-church conflicts and disputes, but once again only for as long as this does not jeopardize the life and health of people. It is also understandable that even in extreme situations a solution can be found through a dialogue, without a show of force. To be sure, such experience is only being gained. This time of changes presupposes a search for the optimal variants of the ways to improve our society. Such ways may be found only in a quiet environment if wisdom and the desire to understand each other are present.

Gagauz Autonomy in Moldavia Discussed

90UN0289A Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 1 Nov 89 p 2

[Report on interview with S.S. Bulgar, a leader in the "Gagauz-khalki" People's Movement; and V.S. Pushkash, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet, by SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA correspondent S. Gamova: "The Gagauz Question?"]

[Text] **Gagauz autonomy is perhaps one of the most discussed subjects in the republic today. Discussed and replete with different kinds of conjectures, fantasies, and rumors. This is also corroborated in reader mail to the editor.**

But, nonetheless, what is the Gagauz question? What is behind this idea that has already taken root? This is the subject of our correspondent's interview with S.S. Bulgar, one of the leaders of the "Gagauz-khalki" People's Movement—which was registered the other day by the Council of Ministers of the republic—and with V.S. Pushkash, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], who heads the commission of the Supreme Soviet Presidium that is studying the question of Gagauz autonomy.

[Gamova] Stepan Stepanovich, what does the "Gagauz-khalki" movement represent, and what are its objectives?

[Bulgar] The answer is in the name itself—People's Movement. The main objective is the establishment of national-territorial autonomy within the republic. The movement encompasses those rayons in which mainly Gagauzes live—Komratskiy, Chadyr-Lungskiy, Vulkaneshtskiy, Bessarabskiy, and Tarakliyskiy Rayons.

[Gamova] I heard more than once in conversations that the Gagauzes want to isolate themselves, and that they are asking for autonomy within the structure of the Ukraine. Is there something here from real life, or is this simply a rumor?

[Bulgar] There is no basis for such judgments. It is only rumor. I want to stress this in particular. The movement is for autonomy, but only within the structure of the Moldavian SSR.

[Gamova] One more question that is raised especially frequently by readers of our newspaper: Why are the Gagauzes trying to get autonomy?

[Bulgar] One of the principal and fundamental positions of Soviet authority, which is stated in the Constitution of the country, is the equality of all nations and peoples. Equal rights for all, and the development of the national cultures of all. However, real life turned out to be far from the constitutional provisions. Here are some historical facts that corroborate this.

The year is 1957. The Gagauzes began to study their mother tongue. National newspapers and books published in the Gagauz language appeared. But in 1961, by order of the Ministry of National Education, Gagauz schools in the republic were closed, newspapers shut down, and the publication of books in the native language was curtailed.

Now it can be heard that at one time the Gagauzes themselves refused to learn their native language. But this does not correspond with reality.

In the 1960's, a national intelligentsia began to be formed, appearing as a turn in the development of national culture. But at that time it was advantageous to somebody to interrupt this process, and to obstruct the formation of the Gagauzes as a nation. What's more, the Gagauzes themselves were accused of this.

How was this done? Various means were used. For example, they assembled kolkhozniks [collective farmers], mainly poorly educated, and conducted meetings at which a number of questions were examined. The question about autonomous schools was brought up last. They tried to convince the people, then they voted, and the decision, as usual, was unanimous. And afterwards, on this basis, they blamed the people.

All of this is not made up; there are a lot of corroborating examples; and people are alive who recall similar "measures."

Now voices can be heard that propose a so-called "cultural autonomy" for us. We know quite well what this is. We have already had this kind of development, and it existed for 4 years—from 1957 to 1961. Virtually this same version is being offered. The Gagauzes do not believe in cultural autonomy, believing that it will not prove its value in practice.

Some representatives of the intelligentsia of the republic refer here to Lenin. But you see, he also was against cultural autonomy. Every people, he indicated, has a right to self-determination. We are guided by this. It is possible to show what cultural autonomy is with a specific example. Maybe it will show itself to be excessively personal, but perhaps it will help explain the situation in a popular way. Roughly this is when you have to go to the minister of national education of the republic and make a request and wait for the publication of textbooks in the Gagauz language. Because even now, we do not have textbooks for pupils in grades 1 to 7. And there are excuses for all requests. In the last 40 years about 30 books were published in the Gagauz language. And each had a circulation of 800-1,000 copies, despite the republic decree about the development of the Gagauz language, etc.

Unfortunately, the facts are there, and, as the saying goes, you cannot fight them. We are trying to achieve a form of autonomy under which all questions concerning the development of the culture of the people will depend on the people themselves.

[Gamova] There is one dissenting opinion: The Gagauzes are reproached for the fact that they are unnecessarily attached to the Russian language...

[Bulgar] Here we stand on the position of the platform of the CPSU Central Committee. In M.S. Gorbachev's book *Perestroyka and the New Thinking*, there is this thought: there is a real necessity to study two languages—one's native language and Russian. We support this. But we are in no way against the Moldavian language. And today it is taught in Gagauz schools.

[Gamova] What is being done now to remove the problem?

[Bulgar] A commission of the Supreme Soviet of the republic is working and studying questions on the autonomy of the Gagauz people. I belong to one of the working groups and lead it. The group held its first meeting recently. At what stage is the work? A lot of material has been gathered. Specialists from the state and the law from our republic, the Ukraine, and Moscow have been called in to analyze this material.

[Gamova] Viktor Stepanovich, what is the underlying principle of the commission of the Supreme Soviet Presidium which you head?

[Pushkash] First of all, we proceeded from the national composition of the rayons that are densely populated by Gagauzes. If you survey and compare the national representation of the population of this region percentagewise and the composition of the commission, then it is apparent that the ratio holds. If, for example, 44% of the Gagauzes live on a given territory, then the commission also has this same percentage.

Its members include USSR people's deputies and deputies of the Moldavian SSR Supreme Soviet, representatives of the "Gagauz-khalki" movement, and the intelligentsia—journalists, writers, etc.

The commission has not just people who live on the territory of those five rayons around which the question of autonomy was initiated, although they constitute the majority. Among the members of the commission there are secretaries of the raykom [rayon party committee], chairmen of the ispolkoms [executive committees] of rayon and village soviets, and lawyers. Moreover, it includes managers of a number of ministries and departments: Minister of Finances A.L. Budyanu, Chairman of Goskomstat [State Committee for Statistics] A.S. Vorotilo, scientists A.S. Dimoglo, V.S. Zelenchuk, G.Kh. Korbu, N.Kh. Kostin, M.V. Marunevich, and writers I.K. Choban, Nikolaye Dabizha, and others.

The commission was established on the basis of a decision of the Commission on National Policy and Interethnic Relations of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to which a request on the formation of national autonomy was submitted by USSR people's deputies, representatives of "Gagauz-khalki, and gatherings of citizens of some villages. Similar requests were also addressed to us, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the republic. Taking all of this into account, a decision was reached to create a commission to study the problem. The essence of all appeals was to grant autonomy to the Gagauz people living on the territory of the Komratskiy, Vulkaneshtskiy, Bessarabskiy, Terakliyskiy, and Chadyr-Lungskiy Rayons. The population of this region is about 300,000 persons, of which about 140,000 are Gagauz.

[Gamova] Five whole rayons are specified in the requests about autonomy?

[Pushkash] No. Three entire rayons, and also a part of the rural soviets of the Vulkaneshtskiy Rayon and several population centers in the Bessarabskiy Rayon. It is a question of the places with the greatest representation, or, in other words, of population centers that are densely populated by Gagauzes. The situation now is like this: In Komratskiy Rayon, the Gagauzes represent 64% of all of the residents; in Chadyr-Lungskiy—64%; in Vulkaneshtskiy Rayon—38%; in Bessarabskiy Rayon—27%; and in Tarakliyskiy Rayon—26%. Not that many Gagauzes live in Bessarabskiy Rayon, but there are villages there that are almost completely Gagauz: for example, in Kiriyet-Lunga, almost 97% of the residents are Gagauz. It is understandable that these villages are specified in the requests.

[Gamova] But not only Gagauzes live on the territory of the rayons about which we are talking; there are also other nationalities. What is their attitude toward possible autonomy and how is their opinion taken into account?

[Pushkash] Here, first of all, it is necessary to talk about citizens' letters that come to the Supreme Soviet. Today they number about 300. Their geography is widespread, practically all rayons of the republic. Questions of autonomy disturb not only those who live on the territory of the aforementioned five rayons, but many others. The letters are diverse. They also contain objections to the organization of an autonomous republic. Some of the letters are from the Moldavian population of these rayons who are concerned about their own fate.

Therefore, one of the tasks of the commission is to study the opinions of all of those who populate a given area. What methods can be used here? Public opinion polls: Questionnaires and gatherings of people is one of the ways. In the next few days, the commission plans to conduct a scientific- practical conference with a subsequent reporting of materials in the press. What is this for? The conference will also have an explanatory character. In particular, the talk will be about the right to autonomy, about what autonomy is, what its forms can be, etc.

All of this work will enable the commission to have a clear understanding of whether individual persons want autonomy, and whether they are not against their settlement becoming a part of an autonomous organization. That is the commission is striving to the maximum to study the opinions of the citizens, and in doing this, to take the interests of each and every one into account. There can be no coercion here.

[Gamova] The readers of our newspaper express this fear: Does not the creation of an autonomous entity actually denote the separation of part of the territory from Moldavia, and will the republic not be broken up?

[Pushkash] I should note first of all that the commission is studying the Law on Autonomy. But there are similar questions in the mail that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet is receiving. It should be stated here precisely: No, because any form of autonomy is created within the scope of the union republics. The establishment of autonomy does not affect either the territory of a union republic, its borders, or its sovereignty.

[Gamova] The appeals contain a request concerning the creation of an autonomous republic. Is the commission specifically studying this aspect of the question?

[Pushkash] The question is being studied from all aspects. This also includes the examination of other forms of autonomy. Such concepts exist as autonomous oblasts, national okrugs, and, in accordance with the CPSU platform, there can also be national rayons, and rural soviets. Also being studied is the kind of form that would be suitable in this case from a legal and economic standpoint.

The form of autonomy also has great significance for the union republic, especially taking into account its transition to economic accountability and self-financing, and for the self-dependence of the future autonomous formation, if a decision is made about this.

[Gamova] Who will have the final say?

[Pushkash] The commission is studying the problem, and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet is coming to a conclusion. The final decision will be made by a session of the Supreme Soviet of the republic.

[Gamova] And the last question: I had occasion to hear statements that the possibility cannot be excluded that autonomy will be proclaimed in the south of the republic before a decision is made by the republic's superior organs of authority...

[Pushkash] The commission is aware of such statements that are issued by the radically inclined part of the Gagauzes who want to decide the questions quickly and immediately. If such a step is taken, then it obviously will be illegal. A decision on declaring autonomy should not be hasty. It is necessary to study the economic, social, legal, and many other questions in sufficient depth so that a meaningful conclusion is arrived at on such a vitally important problem.

Georgian Group Demands Law on Political Parties

90US0251B Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 16 Nov 89 p 3

[Text] We are addressing members of the republic Supreme Soviet on acute political questions whose lack of resolution, we profoundly believe, is a serious danger to the successful development of a genuinely democratic process. Our letter has been dictated by sincere concern for the fate of perestroyka in the political sphere, which we entirely support, and a desire to contribute to its successful promotion.

It is a question of the direst need for the enactment of two laws—on the procedure of the creation, registration, and functioning of political parties and on the referendum, the holding of which is now provided for by the current constitution.

Being profoundly devoted to the idea of the creation of a law-based, democratic, pluralist, multiparty state, in which the supremacy of the law is assured, Georgia's social democrats express their sincere concern at the lack of legal regulation reigning in social and political life, in which a multiparty system has become a real fact. Such a situation cannot and must not last for long. The activity of political parties should be put on the basis of a democratic law passed by parliament. This would afford all political forces, the Communist Party included, an opportunity to register and organize their activity on legal grounds and under equal conditions. Even greater significance is attached to the enactment of law governing parties in the light of the demands of certain parties for a referendum on vitally important questions troubling the entire population of the republic. This puts on the agenda just as seriously the question of the need for the passage of a referendum act.

The absence of the said laws is unworthy of a civilized people. Such a legal lack of culture and political uncertainty are fraught with unpredictable consequences. For this reason we call on you to immediately elaborate measures for their enactment, which will make it possible to conduct the upcoming elections on the principles of a multiparty system and lay the foundations for our people's democratic and legitimate expression. To this end we consider it necessary to form at the session beginning 17 November of this year Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet commissions for the elaboration of drafts of a law governing parties and a referendum act in order to ensure their nationwide discussion and adoption at the next Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet session.

Organizing Committee for Preparation of the Constituent Congress of the Georgian Social Democratic Party.

Armenians Boycott Congress, Supreme Soviet

NC1412121189 Paris AFP in English 1125 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, Dec 14 (AFP)—Armenian deputies are boycotting parliament here to protest its failure by parliament to discuss the question of Nagorno-Karabakh, a disputed region in the Caucasus.

The matter however is expected to be raised soon at a special session of the Supreme Soviet, the legislative assembly, according to observers here.

Armenian First Party Secretary Suren Arutyunyan said in Thursday's edition of Sovietskaya Rossia that participation by Armenian deputies at the current session of the Congress of People's Deputies, the full Soviet parliament, "is not needed" as there are no plans to discuss the dispute over the autonomous region, populated mainly by ethnic Armenians but located inside Azerbaijan.

Mr. Arutyunyan notably deplored the failure by parliament to deal with the question of the economic blockade by Azeri nationalists of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Meanwhile, Interfax, a Moscow Radio news digest reported that one person had been killed and three injured recently in armed clashes in the Lachyn region of Azerbaijan. An Azerbaijan helicopter had also come under fire in the same region.

No details of the clashes were provided, but the Lachyn region is in an Azeri-controlled corridor linking Nagorno-Karabakh and the Armenian republic.

Mr. Arutyunyan also said that Armenian representatives had recently held a meeting with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

"There is an agreement that, following the end of the session of the congress, there will be a Supreme Soviet session, involving deputies from both republics (Armenia and Azerbaijan) at which we shall discuss the question of Nagorno-Karabakh and the blockade," Mr. Arutyunyan said.

After congress Tuesday voted not to discuss the Nagorno-Karabakh question during its 10-day session ending December 22, Mr. Gorbachev said the matter would be raised during a special one or two-day Supreme Soviet session which would be held behind closed doors.

He did not specify when this would happen. In theory, the Supreme Soviet is not due to meet again before March.

Armenian Deputies, Nishanov on Congress Walkout

PM1412102089 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed interviews at Congress of USSR People's Deputies under the rubric "Item Not on the Agenda": "Bitter Protest"]

[Text] At yesterday's morning sitting the Armenian people's deputies' seats were empty—the republic's delegation did not arrive at the Congress. What had happened?

S.G. Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee:

Obviously, you already know what kind of atmosphere the Congress discussion of the blockade of Armenia and the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh took place in. The people's deputies voted against the questions being considered at the Congress. This prompted something of a negative reaction from our deputies, and they thought it inadvisable to continue participating in the Congress' work. Today we have had a very detailed talk and we have discussed the situation. There was a meeting between all our deputies and M.S. Gorbachev. From our viewpoint it was very useful and essential. Mikhail Sergeyevich once again voiced his opinions on all these questions and expressed his unequivocal atttitude on the blockade as such. It is agreed that after the Congress of People's Deputies has finished its work there will be a USSR Supreme Soviet session attended by people's deputies from both republics, at which questions connected with Nagorno-Karabakh and the blockade will be examined yet again.

We must endeavor to ensure that this discussion takes place in a constructive spirit and not at a high emotional pitch. Is this tolerable, when there have been nore than 3 months of permanent pressure via the blockade? But what does this mean for us when more than one-third of the republic has been devastated. We are not receiving construction materials. It is minus 15-minus 20 degrees in Armenia at the moment and people have no roofs over their heads. The fuel and food situation is grim. We are not even able to organize basic survival in the republic. It makes us all shudder, because these are issues that are worrying every citizen in the republic at the moment. It is not surprising that our deputies get so emotional about everything associated with these issues. Incidentally, all this makes it more difficult to carry out the tasks relating to preparing for and conducting the new election campaign....

G.A. Galoyan, secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee:

We are very grateful to all the union republics and all the people who have come to us during these difficult days to help us to raise our ruined cities and villages from the ruins. But it turned out that many construction workers were forced to leave the republic. Our position has deteriorated. All the same, we hope that all measures will be adopted to resolve the conflict, which is now at the high point of its development.

R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities:

First, I must say: Of course, any blockade is an impermissible, intolerable thing. Our Armenian brothers have suffered much because of these blockade phenomena. And one can understand their desire to discuss the question at the Congress. But the Congress did not agree to it, and the deputies complained and did not come to the session. I do not think you can do that. After all, no one said that the blockade is a normal phenomenon, in fact the Congress condemned it and deemed it necessary to discuss the question at the Supreme Soviet session. I think economic blockade is not the right method. People must be guaranteed a normal life.

ARMENPRES on Air Link with NKAO

NC1312193389 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Vardenis, 12 Dec (ARMENPRES)—Mi-8 helicopters belonging to the Armenian department of the civil aviation organization are making regular flights from the rayon center to Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. By these flights the assistance provided by the republic's workers is transported to the Armenians of Artsakh [NKAO] who are under blockade. By this route foodstuffs such as flour, sugar, and potatoes are being sent to NKAO, Shaumyan Rayon, and Gedashen.

The assistance sent to our compatriots by way of Vardenis airport is being provided by a score of enterprises and organizations from Martuni, Krasnoselsk, Edzhmiatsin, Ararat, Talin, Artashad, and Yerevan. The workers in Vardenis have assumed the responsibility for providing foodstuffs and other vital goods to Mardakert Rayon and Gedashen District. When the air link was newly opened, the farmers of Yenikend in Shaumyan Rayon who had suffered much from drought asked for the help of the Vardenis people in fall sowing. The workers of the state farms of Zarkent and Zod immediately responded and sent Yenikend 60 quintals of high grade seeds from their stocks. Martuni's bread baking combine, the "Araratshin" organization, and others are also displaying this kind of support.

Under the command of Musheg Yengoyan, the Armenian aviation department's helicopter turned into an emergency machine serving the Armenians of Artsakh right from the start of the air link. More than 150 tonnes of flour and other foodstuffs have been transported to 30 inaccessible mountainous settlements solely in this helicopter.

Baku Details Criminal Incidents in Azerbaijan

NC1312204689 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1700 GMT 11 Dec 89

[Text] The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs disclosed the following:

Dagliyev, who is a worker at the Sheki silk works complex, wounded his sister with a knife when she was [words indistinct] on 10 December. The Sheki city internal affairs department is investigating the incident.

Meanwhile, [name indistinct] and Guseynov, who are the residents of [name indistinct] were arrested by the militia units of the transportation network at the Khachmas railway station. A total of 755 [words indistinct], a bag full of explosives, and other arms were found in their possession. The incident is being investigated.

On the other hand, the (?Semeru) brothers were caught by the employees of the Nasiminskiy Rayon internal affairs department while trying to rob a house.

Babayev Rauf Inan oglu and Mamedov Ilgaz Kadir oglu, who are students of school No 278 and reside in [name indistinct], left their homes on 9 December and have not returned. The [name indistinct] Rayon internal affairs department is conducting a search.

In general, 24 incidents occurred in the republic on 10 December, nine of which were criminal cases.

Disturbances Between Uzbek, Caucasus Soldiers

PM1412112089 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Dec 89 p 4

[A. Chechulin report: "Letting the Genie out of the Glass"]

[Text] Mass disturbances took place in a military unit stationed in the Urals. According to reports from the duty unit of the oblast internal affairs administration, some 700 people were involved. Some were injured.

In the opinion of A. Yendovitskiy, chief of the unit's political section, the cause of the disturbances was... a glass of fruit juice, which someone accidentally spilled over a colleague.

Apparently this glass was the "last straw" for some people, and prompted others to retaliate. In the clash, one side consisted of servicemen who were natives of Uzbekistan, the other of soldiers and sergeants drafted from the Caucasus. The officers and warrant officers of the unit were unable to impose order. The alarm was raised, and staffers of the internal affairs organs arrived at the checkpoint.

Militia Lieutenant Kamol Dzhelalov describes what he saw on that unhappy night: dim light, two turbulent crowds separated by militiamen. Sticks and shovels in the soldiers' hands. Dzhelalov addressed his fellow countrymen and called for calm. It took time and effort to bring the soldiers to their senses and take them back to barracks.

An objective picture of the events and their causes will be determined by an investigation which the military prosecutor's office has begun.

What do the military men think about the conflict? A. Yendovitskiy said that they are not evading the blame. The unit's officer corps is inexperienced and young. The choice of warrant officers leaves something to be desired. The soldiers live in unfinished barracks, there is no bathhouse or running water—and in the cafeteria they eat out of the cooking pots, because there is nothing to wash the crockery with.

According to the latest information, the whole unit is back at work.

Frunze Riot Control Exercises Explained

90US0226A Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 25 Oct 89 p 4

[Article by A. Galunichev: "Such Is the Job"]

[Text] On Friday and Saturday, several readers inquired by phone about what was happening on 20 October at the motor vehicle proving ground in the vicinity of the old airport of the capital city. They supposedly saw militia cordons while driving by in cars and buses, as well as a crowd of citizens which pelted the guardians of order with something.

What actually happened? Your correspondents were at the site of the "incident," to which the pictorial by Anatoliy Shevchenko testifies. Before our eyes, regular exercises of various units of the internal affairs organs were held, aimed at coordinated actions in extreme and often unforeseen situations. Indeed, a "crowd" of militia academy cadets pelted the detachments of militiamen with "stones" (styrofoam cubes). The militiamen restored order in keeping with legal requirements. Among other operations, the apprehension of "armed criminals" was rehearsed. The nature of training calls for a maximum of realism. Leaders of the republic MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and internal affairs organs of the Chu Valley observed the course of the exercises. Viewers had an opportunity to see a television report on this on the Sunday program of Kirghiz Television "Seven Days."

Phenomena which were considered to be supposedly of Western origin—hostage-taking, mass fights of hooligans (see SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA, 22 October of this year), aircraft hijacking, armed assault—cannot but concern our society. This is why regular training and exercises are needed, as well as the people who have the ability and skill to defend us and not to get confused under any circumstances.

Initiators of Afghan War Called 'War Criminals'

LD0112190189

[Editorial Report] Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America at 0100 GMT on 29 November broadcasts a recorded report on the 25 November session of the Lithuanian Greens Parliament.

Virginijus Razmantas reported from the session that apart from ecological problems in agriculture, a resolution was adopted unanimously by the parliament which supports those Lithuanians who took part in the Afghanistan war and who decided to organize a mass action to give back those medals and decorations they had been awarded in the Afghanistan war.

The action will take place on 16 December.

Aturas Abromavicius read out the text of the resolution: Ten years ago the agression against Afghanistan was begun by the Soviet Armed Forces. The blame for thousands of deaths lies on those who initiated the war, that is, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo at that time. The party elite is to blame for the genocide in Afghanistan, for thousands of deaths, for the future of people crippled both physically and spiritually. We demand that members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo be declared war criminals and criminal proceedings against those members who made a decision to begin the war in Afghanistan be issued.

Whereabouts of Deputy G.V. Romanov Unexplained

PM0412123989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed article in response to reader's letter under the "Dialogue: Ask Questions" rubric: "Are We Looking for Deputy Romanov"; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] "In 1985 we elected Grigoriy Vasilyevich Romanov—at that time he was a CPSU Central Committee secretary—as a deputy of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet. But nothing is now to be seen of our deputy. Could you explain the situation?"
[Signed] N. Vladimirova, Leningrad.

G. Romanov is well known not only in the city on the Neva.

We first called the RSFSR Supreme Soviet: Where is the deputy? Why was he not at the session? Maybe something has happened? We received the following simple answer to all our questions: "He is on vacation."

So we went to the deputy's home in downtown Moscow. There we were, outside the deputy's apartment. But... Grigoriy Vasilyevich's neighbor explained that Romanov lived at a dacha outside Moscow and rarely came to the capital.

What about the voters in Leningrad? Some 5 years ago the inhabitants of Smolninskiy Okrug elected him as their deputy. Thus, perhaps the RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputy can be encountered during the time he sets aside for receiving his voters? But people at Leningrad's Smolninskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee replied that Grigoriy Vasilyevich is not in Leningrad and does not hold any reception sessions. Has the deputy disappeared?

Biography of Deputy Foreign Minister Obminskiy

LD1312193389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1705 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow, 13 Dec (TASS)—The USSR Council of Ministers has appointed Ernest Obminskiy as a USSR deputy foreign minister.

Ernest Obminskiy is a doctor of economic sciences and a professor. In the past, he worked as deputy director of the International Workers' Movement Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. From December 1986 to December 1989, he was head of the International Economic Relations Administration of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1987, he headed the USSR delegation to the second session of the UN Economic and Social Council in Switzerland.

E. Obminskiy was born in 1931, is married and has two children.

Gusev Chairs Meeting on Petrochemical Project

PM1412111389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent report: "Deputies' Enquiry"]

[Text] In Tyumen Oblast the construction has begun on two large oil and gas complexes for the production of plastics from the by-product gas which is separated when petroleum is extracted. This has provoked a wide public reaction. Articles "for" and "against" the construction project have appeared in the press. The USSR Council of Ministers received an inquiry signed by 26 USSR people's deputies.

On 6 December deputies met in the Kremlin with ministry and department leaders and specialists directly involved with the production units under construction. V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chaired the session.

V. Durasov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee, spoke about the reason for the construction of plants in northern Tyumen Oblast. A paradoxical situation has arisen in our country: Despite the huge scale of natural gas extraction, we buy our plastic. The figures are growing. Whereas in 1968 the country imported R68 million worth of plastic, it is planned to spend R545 million next year. In the USSR, 16 kg of plastic is produced for every person, while in the United States, it is 103 kg.

Oil and gas complexes constructed in Surgut and Tobolsk will help us to get out of this bind. When the new enterprises start working at full capacity, half of the natural gas burned off will be processed into plastic to be used for various purposes.

Let us quote some of the deputies' questions and the specialists' answers.

"What measures have been taken to protect the environment?"

"Both complexes will be ecologically clean production units."

"Have there been any 'rehearsals' of emergency situations?"

"The complexes have many safety systems."

"What is the attitude of Siberians and the small peoples toward the construction of the complexes?"

"It is mainly positive. After all, an ecological task is being resolved alongside the economic tasks: The flares will stop polluting the atmosphere. The projects for the complexes have been approved by the leadership of national okrugs..."

The dialogue went on for several hours. It was agreed that the people's deputies will receive written replies to all their questions. It is possible that the parliamentarians will propose that the projects be submitted for independent public examination.

Paper Ponders 10 Dec Moscow Rallies

PM1312203189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[A. Gamov and V. Mamontov report: "Seeking the Truth Through Reason. Notes on Sunday's Rallies in the Capital"]

[Text] Moscow—Last Sunday turned out to be a stormy day in the capital—in various parts of the capital there were rallies and demonstrations devoted to Human Rights Day. Busiest of all, perhaps, was Prospekt Mira, along which, despite 20 degrees of frost, a procession of demonstrators bearing flags and banners marched.

In the afternoon there was a rally in the square outside the Exhibition of USSR National Economic Achievements. There was a variety of people there—this was evident from the slogans raised aloft in the frozen air. They expressed a wide range of opinions and views that are now exciting society.

On that day it was certainly impossible not to recall the unfortunate chapters in our history—the writer L. Razgon spoke movingly about them. Other speakers also talked about past violations of human rights in the Soviet Union. But a rally is always the topic of the day. So it was inevitable that a mine strike committee representative and people's deputies should appear on the platform... Approaching the microphone, they voiced their proposals to the Supreme Soviet and shared their views on the priority of laws safeguarding our rights. Certainly, not all the proposals were incontrovertible, as in any debate. But one can understand the speakers' concern. The fact that some speakers presented highly dubious prescriptions is quite a different matter.

"When fighting for your rights you must use any method, even strikes," USSR People's Deputy S. Belozertsev, for example, said, although he immediately made the proviso: "Warning strikes, and you must make up the lost time later."

But how can you "make up" today the millions of tonnes of coal the miners have already failed to provide? If we are going to fight by stopping our lathes and plows, our fellow citizens are hardly likely to get the bread and cozy homes they are entitled to...

Another people's deputy, V. Zubkov, with astonishing peremptoriness made scathing assessments of Saturday's Central Committee plenum, which, it was easy to see, he only knew about at second hand. And he also called for a "two-hour political protest rally" and urged people to bombard the Supreme Soviet with letters and telegrams. How did he justify his calls? Well, you see, he had "not authorized the Central Committee"... to make any decisions.

Today's problems now form a tight knot and, certainly, our gaze is often directed upward: "They'll sort it out there." But let us think about it for a moment—who are the "top people" today? First and foremost, the Supreme Soviet. Will it be able to operate normally if it is "helped" by strikes and intolerance?

Appeals for reason, for the consolidation of supporters of perestroyka—were they heard at the rally? Yes, they were. Almost the most sensible speech was made by a visitor from America—H. Berman, specialist in the history and law of Russia and the USSR and professor at universities in Cambridge and Atlanta. He called for a "search for the truth of socialism as well as its untruth." We approached the speaker when he left the platform: Yes, Mr Berman, an expert in Soviet law who has visited the Soviet Union 30 times since 1955, advises us to be more constructive.

Well, thank you for the advice. The speakers named so many problems and pointed to so many trouble spots that one found oneself wanting a constructive and businesslike approach. However... It would be a mistake to think that such a view would meet with unanimous support even at this rally, for example. Strong words, ponderous, often unjust assessments of the party's role, and a frightening hopelessness when it came to assessing the situation—this kind of thing, alas, was also sometimes greeted with applause.

On the whole, though, it seemed to us that the people assembled in the square outside the Exhibition of National Economic Achievements were sincere in their desire to change society and pave the way for a genuine rule-of-law state. How can one contribute to this? There were various answers to this, extreme opinions were sometimes expressed, yet the spirit of committed political debate prevailed.

...We saw something quite different in the capital's Pushkin Square on the same day. There was a rally there too, supposedly in defense of human rights, but it was a depressing spectacle. A handful of youths with vodka inside them, led by the notorious V. Novodvorskaya, acted very provocatively. Hollering blasphemous slogans, they occupied the pedestal of the monument to A.S. Pushkin and shouted themselves hoarse in an attempt to excite the participants and kindle hostility. Novodvorskaya herself made unsubstantiated charges against the country's leaders, accusing them of monstrous crimes, and expressed her displeasure with the actions of... George Bush and Margaret Thatcher, who, apparently, have left members of the Democratic Union "at the mercy of the totalitarian regime." Then she started to tear portraits of Lenin and Gorbachev to shreds...

Savage behavior? Blasphemy? Impotent malice? Whatever one says will not adequately describe these assaults. This spectacle, for which colleagues from foreign media had gathered from early in the morning, has to be called a provocation. The rally was not authorized. And the actions of the militia, who cleared the square in two attempts, could hardly be called unlawful or harsh.

Incidentally, both in Pushkin Square and outside the exhibition there were some dubious characters going about the crowd, conducting a brisk trade in duplicated inflammatory leaflets and encouraging drunken youths to turn on people whom, for some reason, they suspected of belonging to the "apparatus." We asked a militia officer: "Why don't you call them to account?" "We don't want to get involved," the lieutenant replied.

But maybe the time has come to get involved? Not only with the "ideological" speculators, but with all those who come to our sacred places to sow malice and distrust.

Nina Andreyeva Attack on Restructuring

AU1312173089 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 8 Dec 89 p 2

[Interview with Nina Andreyeva, by Janos Sandor Szili: "Unity Declares War Against Restructuring—Nina Andreyeva: We Are Facing A Long and Difficult Struggle"—in her house in Petrodvorets, date not given]

[Text] University Teacher Nina Andreyeva, a chemical engineer, and her husband, who used to teach scientific socialism, received us in their neat book-filled apartment in Petrodvorets. They have the reputation of being puritan and consistent people who also help their students financially if necessary. They started our discussion by asking me to translate a letter they had received from Roland Antoniewicz at the beginning of October. (It happens that they receive several dozens of letters a day from various parts of the country and the world.)

[Szili] Nina Aleksandrovna, there have been rumors in Hungary that Ligachev was behind the publication of your letter that stirred such a great storm. What is the truth?

[Andreyeva] Indeed, various peddlers of restructuring, like the alleged political scientist Fyodor Burlatskiy and others, too, have talked a lot of nonsense about the author of this letter during their public appearances in Western Europe. Among other things, rumors have been circulating that this letter was written by 20-30 journalists, economists, and philosophers led by the chief editor of SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and other rumors said that the letter was written by members of the Leningrad party apparatus, or even by Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev himself. There are rumors that there was later a search for a false-author in Petrodvorets where various faculties of Leningrad University are located. According to the cheap gossip, I was chosen for this task because nobody else was found at the University who would agree to accept the role of "bait." I could give you an endless list of such and similar phantasmagoria but all of them lack any basis.

I Wrote the Letter

I wrote the letter myself. I did not write it suddenly, but after two lengthy and harsh commentaries I had sent to the LENINGRADSKIY RABOCHIY, and they even published excerpts from one of them. The editorial corrections in my letter published in the SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA were minimal, and these corrections applied only to the form and not the substance of my article. According to the people in Moscow, among others, Gorbachev also approved the publication of the letter, but later, he changed his position. This also explains the "3-week scare" lasting until the position published in the April 5 issue of PRAVDA, a period depicted in terrible colors by our overpraised "spiritual leaders" like Ulyanov, Karyakin, and others. To this very day, I have seen Comrade Ligachev only on the television screen. These are the facts.

Confronting the Anti-Stalinists

[Szili] Are you speaking only on your own behalf, or do you represent some organization?

[Anreyeva] The founding conference of the "Unity" movement took place in Moscow between 18-20 May 1989 with the participation of activists from Moscow and from several dozens of other big cities. In their speeches, the participants expressed their concern about the negative trends that have gained ground in our country and analyzed the causes of these alarming phenomena. A decision was made to set up an all-federation organization called "Unity for Leninist and Communist Ideals." The conference worked out and adopted the statutes and founding declarations of this movement, and a leading body was also elected, namely the Coordinating Council. The conference elected me as the chairman of this council.

We held a plenary session of the Coordinating Council in Moscow between 6-7 November 1989 and we discussed the achievements of the past 6 months and organizational issues, and we also adopted a series of decisions on forms of property, power, participation in election campaigns, technical and scientific progress, and opposition against slandering the Soviet Armed Forces. We decided on holding a scientific conference under the motto: "Our Cause Is Right!" We also spoke about our increasing number of members and organizing a protest against the anti-Stalinist campaign. The meeting regarded the causes and consequences of this campaign as a modern form of anti-Soviet activity. The meeting also discussed the urgent need to strengthen the unity of patriotic and socialist forces to counterbalance the increasing anticommunist hysteria prevailing in our country.

Restructuring-Betrayal

[Szili] How can one explain the serious economic crisis in the Soviet Union?

[Andreyeva] By broadening the legal and economic independence of the enterprises (as a result of the hypocritically false propaganda of "real democracy") and by using false slogans presenting socialism as "the system of civilized ventures," the "champions of restructuring" have driven our society into an economic desolation, leading to an unprecedented shortage of goods. Independence has allowed enterprises to manufacture only goods most favorable for them at incredibly high prices, in disregard of the needs of our society. This led to the disappearance of basic cheap goods, and the prevailing desire for ventures pumped the stock of goods from department stores and storages into these new and aggressive economic organizations. The result: a terrible increase in prices; legalized speculation on a terrible scale; increasing crime; a close collaboration of state and economic apparatus with the organized underworld; extremely serious social tensions at a national level; and social inequalities and injustice. These ventures have legalized the existence of the new social strata of millionaires and small monarchs, have guaranteed the legalization of capital obtained in a fraudulent way, and—as was also mentioned in the congress of People's Deputies—these ventures enabled the mafia to launder its millions obtained by fraud and crime. This led to the artificially maintained shortage of goods, a political means in the hands of the "champions of restructuring."

Well, these are the results of market economy elements implanted on Soviet soil. These results show that the capital restoring faction of restructuring is gaining ground and revisionists are gaining increasing power within the CPSU leadership. However, opposition to this antisocialist trend is increasing among the masses of communists and nonparty members. I think that the sober-minded and creative members of the party committed to Marxism-Leninism will draw the appropriate conclusions from the events under way in Eastern Europe and will defeat the anticommunist, nationalist, revisionist, and renegade forces.

The Cult of Making Profits

[Szili] What is your opinion about the possibility of private property in the Soviet economy and society?

[Andreyeva] I reject every form of private property. Wherever private property appears, it is accompanied by man's exploitation by man and the expropriation of surplus work, as well as by inflation, unemployment, competition, a deepening of the gap between the poor and the rich, and by other phenomena that are alien to socialism. Today, the workers' opposition is still instinctive, but this forces the "spiritual leaders" of restructuring to maneuver and manipulate things, to hide the essence of private property behind the expression "personal property," and to make verbal compromises while refraining from giving up their antisocialist guidelines. A strike movement is under way in this country against nationalism, organized underworld, and against other phenomena that accompany the shift to private property. At the same time, the cult of money-making and profit-making is taking root in the people's thinking, and they are gradually distancing themselves from the socialist method of distribution, from the principle of "everyone according to his ability, and everyone according to his work." This process is reflected in the abandoning of politics in the awareness of the workers and other working strata of our society, something that has taken place in the past decades. This warns us that the ideas of scientific socialism should again be drilled into the thinking of the masses. In this respect, we are facing a long and difficult struggle, and I think that the victory of Marxism-Leninism is inevitable.

In order to open up the way to private property, the "champions of restructuring" are demanding the creation of a special class of politicians, in the form of a "professional Parliament" made up of "the brains of the nation," that is, of academicians, economists, lawyers, and other representatives of our elite intelligentsia. If we consider the fact that there are about 77 such intellectuals per 1,000 Russian people, while this proportion is 474 among the Jews, we can easily see whom they are forcing upon us as leaders. A power-thirsty and treacherous Zionism is behind these slogans of "professional Parliament" and "the brain of the nation." I do not list every Jewish scientist and journalist among the infamous Zionists, but it is well known that those who are not Zionists do not strive to have a political leading role. They have enough to do without this.

Soviet Symbols and the Army Are Ridiculed

[Szili] What is your opinion about the situation in the Baltics and in the Caucasus?

[Andreyeva] One of the characteristics of the Soviet republics in the Baltics and beyond the Caucasus is the rapid increase in the number of neo-bourgeois elements, speculators, racketeers, merchants, nouveau riche, and unlawful millionaires. As early as in the seventies, Soviet people visiting these republics said that "there is no Soviet power" there. Obviously, socialism was an obstacle for these new economic forces, or new born class on their way to profit-making and the fulfillment of their greedy desires. Serious unsolved problems have accumulated in these republics, and the education of workers in an internationalist spirit was inadequate there. All these led to the development of nationalist tensions and the revival of nationalism, and some high-ranking leaders did not pay attention to this. On the contrary, they even regarded these phenomena as the promoters of restructuring.

In my view, the real causes of the national minority tensions in these republics are to be found in the fact that the "guards of the shadow economy" made use of nationalism for their policy of restoring old ways, and thus they could gather considerable strata of workers for their cause. Meanwhile, the degenerated national bourgeoisie presented its own anticommunist platform as the essence of restructuring. For example, in Estonia and Lithuania, social conflicts appeared in the form that half of the workers who produce material goods belong to the so-called "Russian-speaking" population once brought here to restore economic life. Ever since then, class conflicts have coincided with national minority conflicts, and this is making the situation extremely tense.

The role of "champions" of restructuring like Afanasyev and Korotich in inciting the nationality conflict is well known; in concert with local nationalists, these people are ridiculing the symbols and national banner of the Soviet Union in their campaign directed against the Soviet "occupiers." Our foreign friends are not lagging behind them either. At an international conference held in Riga this summer, one of the delegates—a U.S. Congressman—openly called upon the Baltic republics to secede from the Soviet Union, and welcomed the former bourgeois state banners pinned to the government and party buildings. The abusing of the Red Army, the burning of flags, the replacement of the Komsomol with a scouting movement, the desecration of military memorials, and the demand for breaking with the Soviet Union are going on with the participation of party and state leaders, and they do not even condemn all these things!

[Szili] Is Gorbachev indispensable in the leadership, or is Gorbachev the same person today as he was in 1985?

[Andreyeva] As is well known, there is no such thing as an indispensable person. If circumstances require, a suitable leader will be found, as recently happened in China. If a need to replace Gorbachev arises, there will be suitable candidates to replace him from among the Central Committee members. It is also possible that a leading body would replace the general secretary, in some new form of collective leadership. Of course, all this is only theoretical speculation.

Your second question deals with the theoretical activity of the general secretary and his political situation. In this respect, Comrade Gorbachev's attitude and views have changed considerably, at least judging from his published speeches. Many people say that, in solving a series of ideological and political problems, he deviated from the ideas of Leninism, and with the progress of restructuring, he gave way to the spreading of antisocialist trends which led to an economic, political, ideological, and cultural crisis. Because of a lack of precise formulation of theoretical problems, several adopted decisions have been revoked.

[Szili] Could one consider Yeltsin an alternative to Gorbachev?

[Andreyeva] In my view, one could not, and not only because we are talking here about two persons of different political weight. Yeltsin, who accumulated a maximum of "good points" during the election of the people's deputies, lost a considerable amount of his popularity with his interviews for foreign reporters, and mainly during his recent tour of the United States where, as member of the CPSU Central Committee, he unexpectedly distanced himself from his own party's program, denied the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, and overlooked those several tens of million of people who sacrificed their lives for the implementation of communism, or, as Yeltsin put it, for the implementation of "romantic dreams." Many people found his loud tone, his clear immodesty disguised as democratic attitude, and his "cowboy" manners to be disgusting.

[Szili] What is your opinion about the changes currently under way in Eastern Europe?

[Andreyeva] The current crisis of the socialist world order is characterized by a thorough and deep economic, ideological, cultural, and political crisis in the strongest country of the fraternal community, in the Soviet Union. For an objective observer, the effects of this crisis on the events that have taken place in Poland, Hungary, Bulgarian, and the CSSR are absolutely clear. The foreign camp of "reformers" of socialism even use the same phraseology: the same propaganda of a "humane" or "human-faced" and "democratic" socialism propagated by the elite intelligentsia, the same efforts to force the working class Marxist- Leninist party out of the leadership, the same slogans demanding a multiparty system, and many other common signs.

The antisocialist forces succeeded in exploiting the strengthening of revisionist groups in the weak party leadership, as well as the isolation of the masses and their lack of political interest, the economic difficulties, and the misinformation of the masses.

I Respect the Decision of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]

[Szili] What is your opinion about the policy of the Ceausescu-regime and the persecution of Hungarian and other national minorities there?

[Andreyeva] In our press, we can read the least information about Albania and the situation in Romania and the RCP policy. I have only a superficial knowledge about the background of the tense nationality conflict between Romanians and Hungarians. My opinion is that nothing can justify cruelty. I think that the workers would have solved this problem long ago if they had been given an opportunity to settle the nationality problems themselves and no pressure had been put on them.

I believe neither in a Ceausescu-type authoritarian regime nor in a clan spirit at the highest echelons of the national party leadership. However, I respect the decision of the RCP plenum in October on the situation of the socialist world order. In my view, Ceausescu correctly pointed out that the countries taking the road of the "market economy" are automatically facing difficulties deriving from inflation, increasing black-marketing, and a decrease in the workers' standard of living. According to the RCP leader, this road is weakening the positions of the socialist world order and is opening the way to a capitalist restoration. Ceausescu blames these reforms for the fact that the communist parties in some countries have given up their leading role, and this has caused great damage to the unity of the masses and the working class; this is nothing but retreat in the face of difficulties.

In my opinion, their complete repayment of more than $20 billion state debt to Western countries is commendable, and you must also agree that this is a good example not only for Hungary, but also for the Soviet Union, as these countries are increasingly under the pressure of the burdens of their debts. I fully agree with Ceausescu's proposal to convene a broad conference of representatives of Communist party and socialist state leaders to discuss the crisis in the socialist community. Unfortunately, I am not aware of any response to this proposal.

Bourgeois Socialism Is Nonsene

[Szili] Please tell us a little more in detail about your opinions about the political developments in Hungary.

[Andreyeva] First of all, I would like to point out that our press provides little information about Hungarian events. Many things are not clear to the Soviet people. Therefore, I ask you to take into consideration that I am not well informed in this matter.

I think that the situation in Hungary is incomparably better than that in Poland, which rejected the socialist reorganization of agriculture even in 1957 and thus condemned the cities to poor rations for decades, and this clearly proves that the socialist large-scale industry cannot exist without a collectivized agriculture. As far as I know, the latter is rather well organized in the Hungarian Republic, and is extremely efficient. Therefore, the success of your reforms and of your integration in the Western European economic system will depend a great deal on the approach of the Hungarian peasantry. The question is whether the peasants want to fight a competition struggle full of vicissitudes against extremely strong economic partners.

The Hungarian market economy model has taken over a lot from the Yugoslav model. However, has the latter given prosperity to the workers? The example of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] proves that the main reason for the crisis of socialist countries is to be found in the anti-Leninist distortions within the party. In one of his speeches, Rezso Nyers stressed that the Hungarian reform wing was stronger than that within the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. This is something specific of Hungary! Probably this is the reason behind the strengthening of the social-democratic position and behind leaving the word "workers" out of the party's name. The same thing explains the fact that the word "people's" has become superfluous in the name of the republic. If it is not a people's republic, how can it be socialist? A bourgeois socialism is nonsense! Of course, the red star and all the other proletarian symbols have become pointless under such circumstances.

[Szili] In your view, does socialism have a future?

[Andreyeva] Socialism is a normal phase of social development, and it has never before ended with the restoration of capitalism. There has never been a case in which workers gave up their achievements voluntarily in the benefit of their former masters. To have a different view on this means not believing in the consistency of historic development, the eternal laws of social progress, and in the power of the working class. Crises can only temporarily hinder the progress of mankind toward socialism and communism, and they can encourage people to seek new roads, but they are incapable of halting the social and economic liberation of the workers. This is the future of mankind, and the classics of Marxism-Leninism discovered the fundamental laws of this development.

Editor Interviewed on Solzhenitsyn Publication

PM0712124189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 89 p 1

[Interview with V.I. Mussalitin, chief editor of the 'Sovetskiy Pisatel' publishing house, by T. Khoroshilova: "Solezhnitsyn, Volume One"; first paragraph is Khoroshilova introduction]

[Text] I have in my hands a book which contains no invented names and no invented events. A book which I was assured they would never manage to print in the USSR. And now the first book of "The Gulag Archipelago" has been published in the "Sovetskiy Pisatel" publishing house, "NOVYY MIR" [sentence as published]. A reprint from the collected works of A.I. Solzhenitsyn with the author's last amendments specially for this edition. We asked V.I. Mussalitin, chief editor of the "Sovetskiy Pisatel" publishing house, to comment on this event:

[Mussalitin] The book has been published in record time. The second is in production and the third is being dispatched. Solzhenitsyn published his first and so far last book in our publishing house. In addition the present "Gulag Archipelago" has been designed by the artist who also worked on his first book of stories—Dmitriy Mukhin. A seven-volume edition of the writer's works is also being prepared.

[Khoroshilova] How substantial are the author's amendments?

[Mussalitin] Solzhenitsyn is a very caustic person. His amendments related to style and to surnames. There were no other significant amendments. When Vadim Borisov, Solzhenitsyn's literary agent in the USSR, visited Solzhenitsyn in Vermont on a NOVYY MIR assignment, he also discussed questions of the "Gulag Archipelago" edition in our publishing house.

[Khoroshilova] What is your own attitude toward this event?

[Mussalitin] I read Solzhenitsyn as a student, at the time Tvardovskiy published Gorbatov's "Years and Wars" ["Gody i voyny"] with big cuts, it is true. Today I think that as an artistic discovery "The Gulag Archipelago" has somewhat lost its significance. Books should reach readers on time. But even for our heirs "Archipelago" will remain a document of enormous strength.

[Khoroshilova] Where will the book's royalties go?

[Mussalitin] Solzhenitsyn wants the money to go to charity.

[Khoroshilova] What specifically?

[Mussalitin] I think part will go into the children's fund and part toward improving the life of former repressed people. There are many of them.

[Khoroshilova] What will be included in the seven-volume works of Solzhenitsyn?

[Mussalitin] The first two volumes will contain "The First Circle," the third will contain stories, the fourth will contain "Cancer Ward," and "The Gulag Archipelago" will be in the fifth to seventh volumes.

[Khoroshilova] And "Lenin in Zurich?"

[Mussalitin] Solzhenitsyn set the condition that his discovery as a writer and his return to Russia should begin with the "Archipelago," and we are fulfilling that demand.

New Editor on NARODNYY DEPUTAT Changes

90US0222A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 7

[Report on interview with M.I. Piskotin by G. Alimov: "Chief Editor of NARODNYY DEPUTAT"]

[Text] As already reported, M.I. Piskotin has been appointed chief editor of the journal NARODNYY DEPUTAT. On 15 November he was introduced to the workforce by Ye.M. Primakov, candidate of the Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union.

Mikhail Ivanovich Piskotin was born in 1924 and is a graduate of the Kazan Law Institute. Since 1953 he has worked in the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of State and Law. He dealt for a long time with questions of an improvement of the work of the soviets. He has since 1988 been the leader of the Political Science Research Center under the auspices of the Institute of State and Law and the Soviet Political Sciences Association. He is the author of more than 100 scientific works. From 1978 through 1987 he was chief editor of the journal SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO. He is a doctor of legal sciences and professor and was a participant in the Great Patriotic War.

[Alimov] The journal SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV is giving way to NARODNYY DEPUTAT. What does this mean: simply a change of name, or are we present at the birth of a new publication?

[Piskotin] Essentially it is a new journal, nor is the change of name fortuitous. The name reflects real life, real processes. The people's deputy is now becoming the key figure of the soviets, in which quite recently it was even difficult to distinguish individuals. The soviets operated as some impersonal aggregate and, at times, monolith. There is now ever increasing awareness that a pillar of perestroyka consists of striking personalities capable of working actively and fruitfully. The pillar of the soviets consists of people's deputies who feel themselves to be plenipotentiary representatives of the people.

[Alimov] Has the status of the journal changed?

[Piskotin] Yes. This also underlines the fundamental change in the role of the soviets and their conversion into real organs of power. The journal will come out more often. NARODNYY DEPUTAT, like KOMMUNIST, will appear 18 times a year. There will be an improvement in the physical plant. The staff will be increased somewhat. We will have more opportunities to enlist "venerable" journalists and authors....

[Alimov] How do you assess the appearance on the political scene of such bodies as the Congress of People's Deputies and a permanent USSR Supreme Soviet?

[Piskotin] This is a turning point in the country's political development.

[Alimov] How do you intend building your relations with the people's deputies under the conditions of the ever increasing pluralism of opinions and positions?

[Piskotin] During discussion of the questions which the journal will raise the main participants in the discussion will of course be people's deputies. The journal should be their platform.

[Alimov] Understandably, there is no final editorial program as yet. Nonetheless, could you not say in the discussion of which problems the journal will involve itself primarily?

[Piskotin] Of the political and economic reforms. It may seem that the problem of economic reform is not entirely within the compass of our publication. But this is now a paramount problem. At the start of perestroyka the country came up against the fact that economic reform could not be successfully implemented without a reform of the political system. Now, however, a different situation has arisen. The fate of political reform and the democratization process will depend to a tremendous extent on the state of affairs in the economy.

[Alimov] How do you conceive of the nature of the journal and its spirit?

[Piskotin] Spirit? Lively, controversial, I believe. We must initiate the discussion of various concepts and the most important bills, offering alternative approaches and the entire diversity of opinions.

[Alimov] What was the reason for the formation of the journal's editorial council, aside from the fact that the editorial board will be involved therein?

[Piskotin] Immense, very complex tasks confront us. The editorial council is called upon to determine the publication's strategic line. The council consists of 11 persons headed by Ye.M. Primakov, its members being R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, people's deputies S.S. Alekseyev, A.S. Dzasokhov, I.D. Laptev, N.D. Pivovarov, G.Kh. Popov, Yu.A. Ryzhov, A.A. Sobchak, and V.K. Foteyev and N.F. Rubtsov, chief of the USSR Supreme Soviet Secretariat.

[Alimov] What motto, do you think, might most accurately correspond to NARODNYY DEPUTAT's principal mission?

[Piskotin] It could be Article 2 of the USSR Constitution: "All power in the USSR belongs to the people. The people exercise state power via the soviets of people's deputies... All other state authorities are subordinate and accountable to the soviets..." The journal should ultimately devote its entire work to facilitating the realization of this principle in reality and ensuring that it not remain simply a motto.

Investigator Gdlyan on Ligachev Link to Crime

PM1611112489 Rome L'ESPRESSO in Italian 12 Nov 89 pp 49-55

[Chiara Valentini roundtable with Italian Mafia investigator Giovanni Falcone and Soviet Investigating Magistrate Telman Gdlyan in Rome; date not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Valentini] In Italy the major Mafia trials have often ended with general acquittals for lack of evidence, and in any case investigations are always conducted amid huge difficulties. What is your experience, Mr Gdlyan?

[Gdlyan] The essential point that must be made before answering your question is that in our country there is no real rule-of-law state. Although it is not envisaged by any written rule, the judiciary does have the illegal practice of requesting advice and suggestions from party leaders before making decisions. When they heard that I was investigating Bukhara Oblast First Secretary Karimov, my superiors made it known to me that I should stop. They in turn were the tools of some kind of political machination. Furthermore it was the first time that a party secretary had been accused. Despite the pressures, I carried on and, despite huge difficulties, over a period of 5 years our investigation has led to 60 arrests, almost entirely of political and administrative leaders.

[Valentini] At what level was your investigation stopped?

[Gdlyan] The moment we reached the names of certain Central Committee leaders a large-scale campaign began to destroy our credibility. The new state prosecutor, Sukharev, argued that the investigation contained dangerous lies and a sector of the press started attacking us. Eventually we were taken off the investigation.

[Valentini] Do you believe that this decision was determined by the fact that Ligachev's name featured in the judicial records?

[Gdlyan] Ligachev's involvement has now become almost legendary for the Western press. I do not believe that it can all be confined to a single name. A number of Ligachev's aides are implicated in the investigation. But there are many other extremely prominent figures, too. As you know, these include Brezhnev's son-in-law, Yuriy Churbanov, who I succeeded in having sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment but who I would not be surprised to meet soon at liberty walking along Gorkiy Street, in view of the protection he can enjoy even within the present apparatus. [passage omitted]

[Valentini] Hitherto, in the various investigations that you have conducted, have you found any connections between the Italian and Soviet Mafia organizations?

[Falcone] We are beginning to glimpse certain links in the drug field. In this connection, I would like to ask Mr Gdlyan whether the criminal organizations that he has pursued were also active in narcotics.

[Gdlyan] In numerous instances corrupt party officials were also involved in this kind of trafficking. In our country the drug problem is on a large scale, though this is still little known. In the Central Asian regions such as Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, and Kirghizia there are in fact vast poppy plantations.

[Falcone] Who does the refining?

[Gdlyan] There is no complete picture of this yet. We do know, however, that there is large-scale dealing with the neighboring countries—Iran and Afghanistan. Through very safe channels, against which our border police are impotent, the drugs are transferred to those countries in exchange for gold.

[Falcone] And from there in many cases they proceed to the West. However, some of them remain on your domestic market. Who are the main consumers in your country?

[Gdlyan] Until recently such information was secret. I can say, however, that whereas previously drug addicts in our country were mainly dropouts, now heroin and hashish are starting to spread among intellectuals. The huge tension present in our society threatens to accelerate this trend. [passage omitted]

Tselinograd MVD Chief Fired for Corruption

PM0512123989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Own correspondent O. Stefashin report: "Wheeler-Dealers in Uniform"]

[Text] Tselinograd—A scandal involving high-ranking militia officers has broken out in Tselinograd Oblast. Even though the circumstances are in no way comparable to what happened here a year ago, when 10 rayon Internal Affairs Department staffers went on trial for extorting bribes and committing two villainous murders, the latest events have nonetheless made people extremely indignant.

It has come to light that for several years, members of the leadership of Tselinograd Oblast Soviet Executive Committee [oblispolkom] Internal Affairs Administration blatantly violated the principles of social justice, "endowing" themselves and their closest associates with benefits of an illegal nature. Militia chiefs were especially diligent in the acquisition of personal motor vehicles. They made extensive use of their connections with the oblispolkom and the trade network for this purpose and, of course, also laid their hands on motor vehicles intended to be sold to rank-and-file staffers of the Internal Affairs Department.

"I think that Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation organs will investigate this," A. Kosenko, first secretary of Tselinograd City Party Committee [gorkom], told me. "One thing is certain, though: Top militia bosses in the oblast were infected by the dangerous virus of large-scale abuse. In essence, there is not a single one among them who is not involved in breaches of the law. The party gorkom bureau made a principled appraisal of what has happened: Some Communist militiamen have been severely reprimanded, others have been expelled from the CPSU. We also asked the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs to examine the question of dismissing all 'car dealers.' V. Tyurin, chief of the Internal Affairs Administration, has already been dismissed."

KGB Views Joint Effort Against Terrorism

90UN0452B Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Dec 89 2d p 4

[Text] A meeting of the USSR KGB leadership, which discussed proposals concerning the organization of the interaction of the KGB and foreign special services in the fight against international terrorism, has been held. The meeting, in which members of the board of the KGB and leaders of subdivisions of the central machinery and local authorities participated, was chaired by USSR KGB Chairman V.A. Kryuchkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

The meeting was addressed by Lieutenant General (Ret'd) F.A. Shcherbak, deputy chairman of the Council of KGB Veterans, who described his trip to the United States in October along the lines of the Soviet-American Society for Combating International Terrorism. The Soviet group also included Major General (Ret'd) V.V. Zvezdenkov, former senior official of the USSR KGB.

Meetings and discussions were held in the course of the trip with former CIA leaders W. Colby and R. Cline. It was the general opinion that the said meetings had initiated a constructive dialogue in the search for ways to solve a problem common to all mankind—curbing international terrorism.

The decision was made at the meeting to formulate specific proposals pertaining to the continued development of professional contacts between the USSR state security authorities and special services of capitalist states in the interests of combating international terrorism.

Girenko Attends Commemoration of Ukrainian Writer

PM0412155789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Nov 89 Second Edition p3

[TASS report: "National Talent"]

[Excerpts] The outstanding Ukrainian Soviet writer Ostap Vishnya (Pavel Mikhaylovich Gubenko) had a brilliant, striking talent. In his pointed feuilletons and pamphlets he raised important issues of social and political life. His biting, sparkling, vital words hit at stagnation and philistinism, bureaucracy and careerism, and everything that prevented the young Soviet Republic from building a new society. A ceremonial soiree held on 29 November in the Hall of Columns of the House of Unions in Moscow was dedicated to the 100th anniversary of the birth of the founder of Ukrainian Soviet satire and the patriot who devoted his creativity to serving the motherland. [Passage omitted]

The soiree was attended by A.N. Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities; prominent cultural figures, and representatives of the public.

Ligachev Visits Vitebsk Oblast 23 Nov

LD2411123989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Nov 89

[A. Zhuk video report; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Ligachev arrived in Vitebsk Oblast, Belorussia, today.

[Correspondent A. Zhuk] Why is it that in Vitebsk Oblast, which traditionally has been considered one of the weaker oblasts in Belorussia, matters have now been improving, and markedly so? This is the question that was posed repeatedly by the participants in this meeting. [video shows Ligachev addressing gathering of officials]

Secretaries of the oblast committees of union republican Communist Parties, who are taking courses under the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences, have come here. Well, I think that the conclusion is clear, as was stressed by Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev. The oblast's party organization has managed to draw up a socioeconomic program for the revival of their area that has been accepted by the people and which they believe in. A sizable increase has been achieved in the production of meat and milk and the appearance of the countryside has begun to change for the better. [video shows rural housing, Ligachev and others in group viewing it]

Indeed, it is easy to see this for oneself, when one leaves Lipetsk for the Kirov Kolkhoz [collective farm]. Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev and the party workers who have come here from various regions of the country saw a new Belorussian village. What are its distinguishing features? It is not just the distinctive style of the development but also the wish to give the maximum of amenities to the collective farmers. Incidentally, the number of people here has doubled over the last 4 years. [video shows correspondent interviewing Ligachev as he tours the village]

[Begin recording] [Zhuk] Yegor Kuzmich, all of us have been saying at the sessions of the Supreme Soviet, the plenums, and in our lives that perestroyka is progressing, but perestroyka is proceeding with great difficulty. It is at present going through its crucial stage. But is there evident movement of perestroyka? I think one could put it that way.

[Ligachev] I think that you have asked a very interesting question, because it is now agonizingly being asked what changes for the better the people have obtained during the more than 4 years of perestroyka.

I can say without any exaggeration that the Belorussian party organization has indeed transformed the countryside on socialist principles. Take, for instance, even Lipetsk Oblast. Four years have passed and to all intents and purposes the increases in all basic types of agricultural produce amount to something on the order of 45 percent. It has been through the intelligent, skilled, and I would say, the all-surmounting work by people, the aktiv, and the leadership of the republic and the oblast.

I would particularly like to emphasize and to draw attention to the fact that Belorussia has been able to preserve one of the most effective lines in the development of agriculture—namely, the all-round development of specialization and concentration of agricultural production, the creation and all-round development of scientific production systems, and the integration of kolkozes and sovkozes [state farms] with family and individual ancillary holdings. Now it is very important, I sensed from the conversations and meeting here, to work intensively at creating an agroindustrial association—that is, to all intents and purposes on a new basis and on a basis, I would say, of economic joint production to organize the relationship between industry and agriculture.

But I think the most important thing is the living conditions of people. I would say to you that in such conditions as these, it is simply not acceptable to work poorly. [end recording]

Karelian Obkom First Secretary Replaced

PM0412162989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Dec 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Oblast Party Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Petrozavodsk, 30 Nov—A Karelian Oblast Party Committee [obkom] plenum was held today to examine an organizational question. The plenum released V.S. Stepanov from his duties as first secretary of the CPSU Obkom in connection with his retirement. Twenty candidacies for the post of obkom first secretary had been proposed, after first being discussed in rayon and city party organizations and at a session of the party obkom bureau.

At the party obkom plenum the candidacies of N.Ya. Kiryanov, secretary of the CPSU Obkom, and Yu.A. Kuznetsov, first secretary of Petrozavodsk City Party Committee, were put on the list for a secret ballot. By a majority of votes N.Ya. Kiryanov was elected first secretary of Karelian Party Obkom.

V.T. Suslin, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Department of Party Building and Cadre Work, took part in the plenum's work.

Association of Informals Meets

90UN0368A Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 47, 26 Nov p 13

[Article by Gennady Zhavoronkov: "Democracy's Salad Days"]

[Text] An Inter-Regional Association of Democratic Organizations, IRADO, held its constituent conference in late October in Chelyabinsk. The conference was attended by delegates from over a hundred Popular Fronts from various regions of the USSR.

Unofficially, the conference got off the ground at Moscow's Domodedovo Airport. People with Popular Front badges easily spotted each other among the throngs of air passengers and, after brief introductions, started talking. They discussed texts of the draft manifesto of IRADO, and what should be done in case they find the hired conference hall of a scientific-research institute closed by a fire inspector. If that happened, it was proposed to go to a cinema and buy all the tickets for two days. People were expecting to meet all kinds of obstacles, perhaps as the result of previous negative experiences. In fact, their worries turned out to be false.

The first session was opened by the Chairperson of the Leningrad Popular Front, Marina Solye. On behalf of the initiative committee, she set out IRADO's major goal—to help build a democratic society governed by law.

However, the start of the conference was somewhat clouded by the following incident. One of the delegates demanded that St. Andrew's flag be removed from the hall as that symbol was not consistent with the spirit of the conference. In return, the people who brought the flag demanded that a poster with the motto "For Our and Your Freedom" be removed, because this motto was not approved of by all the delegates. The conflict was resolved peacefully: the white-and-blue flag was put in the foyer.

But the discussion of the principles and future activities of IRADO didn't take a peaceful route and actually lasted for a day and a half. There was everything: struggle for access to the microphone, cries like "Don't try to silence me!" and demands to replace the chairperson of the conference.

Luckily, the conference managed to overcome confrontation each time it flared up: the instinct of self-preservation worked. The text of the manifesto was made more agreeable to all. For instance, the delegates agreed upon the following major point: "Aims as well as solutions for the tasks are to be achieved through peaceful, non-violent and constitutional means." The main directions of IRADO's activities have also been worked out through joint effort. They are: the implementation of specific programmes aimed at overcoming the country's current crisis, and active participation in the coming election campaign. The delegates also came to an agreement about setting up an electoral bloc which they called Elections-90.

Does the mention of "peaceful non-violent and constitutional means" suggest that other means were proposed as well? In fact, it does. Some delegates suggested that one must fight fire with fire. There were also the familiar and extreme opinions of the Democratic Union and Anarchist Syndicalists. Are their harsh words the result of our democracy's fragility and lack of legal protection? Significantly, many delegates spoke about "growing political tensions" and the "consolidation of conservative forces" in the country.

True, some statements were strongly worded; for example, some calls for "down with..." contained no positive suggestions.

"We still lack intellectual maturity," pointed out Luiza Almayeva, a delegate from Chelyabinsk. There is little gain in calling a newspaper 'the gutter press' or a 'chauvinist rag'. A resolution with an appeal for the mass media to take a more tolerant and unbiased approach towards the emerging prodemocracy movements staging rallies is more constructive. The resolution was passed.

New thinking cannot be introduced by decree and adopted overnight. It must be acquired gradually. From this point of view, the programme of the Popular Front of Russia is very good. It is balanced and specific, suggesting setting up a network of clubs for popular political and economic education immediately. Existing clubs can be counted on one hand, and their total membership is far smaller than the number of students at universities and colleges. But such clubs are already a reality and provide lectures by experts. This kind of education will help fight the proponents of levelling as the road to happiness.

However, such proposals were heard by some of the participants in the solidarity rally outside the city circus in the evening, as were complaints about Russia being robbed by other Union Republics.

The national issue turned out to be far from simple for the conference. The Soviet Baltic Republics participated in the work of the IRADO conference with the status of observers. Popular Fronts of Armenia and Azerbaijan were incorporated in IRADO by a special resolution. The conference appointed a special commission to verify the mandates of the delegates of these Fronts and to decide upon their membership in IRADO.

In actual fact, the principle of admission to IRADO is fairly democratic: "Any social organization or movement, regardless of the size of its membership or scope of activity, can be a member of IRADO on the condition of sharing its aims and objectives."

The conference elected a new organizing committee which is to arrange the next meeting in three months' time in Leningrad or one of the Baltic cities.

Marina Solye, member of this committee, in her concluding remarks, expressed the hope that after an emotional beginning, the second conference would be more businesslike and constructive, that political resolve would prevail over emotions and personal resentment, and that the next conference would result in more specific programmes.

One can greet the creation of the United Popular Front with delight or scepticism, but one cannot just ignore the emergence of IRADO. To a certain extent, IRADO is the equivalent of the Duma, the former popular assembly, because it tries to bring together opinions existing in society. An address of communist delegates to the IRADO constituent conference reads: "Now it is not an appropriate time for making accusations and claims. Civic responsibility for the future of the country and awareness of the critical nature of the present moment dictate the need for a constructive dialogue based on the consolidation of all democratic forces in society."

These words show both concern and hope, as well as offering a plan for the future work of IRADO.

Medvedev on Sciences Academy Conference

LD2711112889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television in Russian at 1920 GMT on 26 November carries the 14-minute feature "Topical Report" on a conference of party organizations and institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences, presented by A. Fedorovich. The program opens with video shots of the vestibule of an Academy of Sciences guest house in Zvenigorod, where Fedorovich says the conference was held for 2 days—Saturday and Sunday. He says that the conference discussed draft theses and proposals from communists on the party platform for the 28th CPSU Congress. The video shows a full audience and shots of an officiating platform, with speakers at the rostrum. Fedorovich says that the discussion was businesslike, "in the manner of scientific polemics." He continues: "Reports? Certainly; though not six, but two. The concept: Topical matters—the strategy for the development of Soviet society and the role of the party in implementing it. Constructiveness: No one needs a proliferation of empty talk. The limit for a speech: 5-7 minutes. An analytical approach: What is the economic situation in the country? In your view, what do we have most of in our lives—practical action, a striving for order, or only discussions? In a word, various matters were discussed—from the personal view about restructuring in the CPSU to the activity of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the involvement of communists in the processes of the democratization of public and scientific life."

Fedorovich then introduces a series of interviews during conference breaks with unnamed delegates, who air their views on the matters to be discussed and the importance of such matters being addressed by party organizations and not just within the depths of the apparatus. The whole party should take part in the preparations for the 28th Congress and in the elaboration of its decisions. Fedorovich says that there are about 300 delegates here, representing 180 party organizations and institutions of the USSR Academy of Sciences. He says that they welcomed the speech by Comrade Medvedev, who took part in the conference. The video then shows Medvedev addressing the conference. He is heard in a poorly-recorded 1.5-minute clip, saying that although the restructuring process is accompanied by an intensification of social tensions and social and economic difficulties, it is necessary to seek a way out of such a situation, and the party has to show an example of restructuring.

Fedorovich says that the materials of the conference will be discussed in the primary party organizations of the country's scientific centers. The video then shows the following interview between Fedorovich and Medvedev:

"[Medvedev] I have to say that this is an unusual gathering of communists. I do not recall such a discussion and such a meeting ever having been held within the scope of the academy. After all, representatives of the party organizations establishments and institutes of the Academy of Sciences have met. In essence, the discussion as the 28th Party Congress approaches has already begun. It is under way in party organizations, in informal discussions of the problems which concern the country and our party. Yes, and as for such a conference, within the framework of the Academy of Sciences, I think that this is a testimony to the fact that our science, here and in this sociopolitical sphere, is striving to play a vanguard, progressive role, to a certain extent laying the path for others.

"And it is no accident that both draft documents of future party congresses, and sketches and ideas and thoughts of various kinds, both about the content of the work of the congress and about the preparations for it, and in particular about the acute mater of how to elect delegates to the congress, are being conceived. Many proposals are being put forward—those which first and foremost propose the direct elections by territorial party constituencies. This is all understandable. I think that this is a reaction to those formal procedures which existed previously for us in this area, and the statutory procedures. But people now want to ensure that the whole process is more democratic...

"[Fedorovich, interrupting] Or they have become more bold.

"[Medvedev] Yes, of course. Their main concern—and I share it—is that every communist should feel himself to be involved, both in the preparations for the congress and in putting together the delegations, not only of the regional, but also the oblast conferences and congresses of the communist parties of the union republics and the CPSU Congress, and is thus involved in the work of the congress. And here, one has to think of and find ways of resolving this problem. It is not a problem which has been made up, it flows from life.

"[Fedrovich] Vadim Andreyevich, there is also this question: From your point of view, what were the more topical and acute issues at the conference?

"[Medvedev] I think that each of the participants in the conference brought along with them not only various ideas about how they see the future party congress and how to prepare for it, but brought a mass of observations and impressions from life, and their ideas and experiences and views on resolving those more acute problems which now confront our country.

"For this reason, there was a very sharp discussion on the need to find a speedy way to solve those problems which have arisen, problems in the socioeconomic sphere, its normalization, and to get our economy out of its crisis state, you see—of problems which touch upon the intellectual sphere of our life, its further democratization, further restructuring of all our party work, of ideological work, and that preparations for the congress are unthinkable outside of these changes, outside of this restructuring.

"I feel that party workers and party activists are filled with resolution to take a more energetic position, to conduct energetic work with all of our public, to enliven the functioning of all our structures—social, formal and informal structures—to hold a lively dialogue with people, to strengthen trust in the party and in doing so to make their contribution to the elections —this is a serious test—to the elections of deputies of republican and local soviets. This is a serious test which awaits us party workers.

"There are great hopes for the Second Congress of People's Deputies, too. We really must discuss the cardinal issues and adopt decisions which will make it possible rapidly both to make up for what has been lost in many spheres, and to galvanize all our processes and to accelerate perestroyka, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said when he spoke to the students' forum.

"This commitment, this, I would say, impatience, which is good and human, this desire to actively join in those processes and energetic attitude to the working of all our party structures, this has been fully expressed here at the conference and it determines the course of its work—a high degree of exactingness and criticism. Of course, some ideas of a subjective order have been expressed. This course cannot be avoided now—there isn't a meeting without it. I have said that I was asked an enormous number of questions after my speech. I didn't count, but there were probably 150.

"[Fedorovich] Burning questions.

"[Medvedev] Yes, burning questions. And I must say that the second part of my speech, which consisted of replies to questions, was probably of even greater interest to the auditorium, and I think it ended in such a way that the discussion as a whole was useful.

"[Fedorovich] Thank, you for the interview."

Speech by AUCCTU Deputy Chairman Yanayev

904F0046B Moscow TRUD in Russian 5 Dec 89 pp 2-3

[Unattributed report: "Moving Toward the Elections: The Position of the Trade Unions. Report by the deputy chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, G.I. Yanayev"; in Moscow on 4 December]

[Text] Esteemed comrades. Only 3 months have elapsed since the Sixth Plenum of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU]. But time has passed for us as quickly as the situation resulting from the emergence of new problems has been changing so that it is necessary to hold this present plenum in order to take counsel together and work out the position of the trade unions proceeding from the actual situation in the country.

The AUCCTU Presidium has submitted for discussion by the plenum the question "The Position and Tactics of the Trade Unions During the Course of the Elections to the Republic and Local Organs of Power." From what do we proceed? First and foremost from the decisive importance of the consequences that these elections will have for the fate of the country and for all the workers and trade unions. The election struggle for the nomination of candidates for the posts of people's deputy on an alternative basis has essentially already started. It is being waged in a situation in which the fundamental principles of our sociopolitical arrangement are being subjected to major tests.

These are the principles that were formulated as the result of the revolutionary creativity of the workers, first and foremost the working class, during the course of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and later confirmed by the power of the soviets of workers, soldiers, and peasants throughout the country. The Leninist party stood at the head of this historic process to create the power "of the workers, for the workers." We know from history that the trade unions played a major role in creating the new type of state power.

Of course, it is impossible to ignore the indisputable fact that during the post-Lenin period and the years of the command-administrative system (and this virtually six decades) the new power born of the Great October suffered serious losses. Many of its popular, directly self-managing foundations were grossly distorted and deformed. There was a certain alienation of the working masses from real power.

However, it would be wrong to claim, as is sometimes done, that the most important foundations and fundamental principles of the new soviet power, such as its socialist and profoundly democratic basis, were totally destroyed after Lenin.

An in-depth and truthful look at the history of socialism shows that it has not been the mere mechanical change of its various models, but a dialectic and complex process. The history of socialism is the arena of the struggle between the proletariat and antipopular forces, between Leninism and Stalinism, between the supporters and opponents of perestroyka. Socialism has been built not thanks to leader cults and repressions, but despite them.

In our days there are heated debates about the past, the present, and the future of socialism. Different viewpoints are being expressed. We are not managing to avoid extremes. On the one hand people advocate the retention (but in a somewhat renewed form) of the administrative-command system and a return to rigid centralization in economic planning, and no less rigid control in other spheres of public life. On the other hand the thought is being expressed that October was a historical mistake and that it is necessary to turn back and pass through the "schooling of capitalism."

It goes without saying that today the world of capitalism is different from the time of K. Marx and V.I. Lenin. It has turned out to be more viable than was thought earlier. It is impossible to deny its scientific and technical achievements, the gains made by the workers in the social sphere, and the notable growth of what we call the prerequisites of socialism. All this is so. Nevertheless, bourgeois society has not become socialist, the opinion of many of our theoreticians notwithstanding. The contradiction between labor and capital that is organic and inherent in capitalism is maintained. Militarism, easy profit, crime, immorality, and lack of soul have not disappeared. Even with our meager experience we can sense how acute the contradictions may be between the laws of the market economy and the requirements of social justice.

I think that I express the general opinion when I say that the position of the Soviet trade unions with respect to these views is unambiguous. Neither of these approaches is acceptable to us. Even with the seeming opposing nature of extreme viewpoints, they do have a common platform; namely, an antiperestroyka platform. The Soviet trade unions advocate perestroyka and the renewal of socialist society according to Lenin.

In the law-governed, democratic state the role of the trade unions is also changing in a fundamental way. At the Sixth AUCCTU Plenum the trade unions stated that they constitute an independent public force with a clearly defined program of action to defend the interests of the workers. Under the new conditions the Soviet trade unions are becoming independent of political organizations and of state, economic, and administrative organs. Their freedom and independence lies in the adoption and implementation of their own platforms for practical action, and in nominating alternative programs, and in the right to legislative initiative and their election of leading organs and cadres without interference or guardianship from any quarter, and in the expression of disagreement with decisions by those state, economic, and other organs that infringe upon the legitimate rights and interests of the workers. The trade unions are organizations in which within the framework of the law there is only one utmost power; namely, the opinion and will of their members.

Comrades. We stand on the threshold of the second stage of the political reform that will culminate in the creation of an integrated system of popular power and renewal of the power of the soviets in the Leninist sense.

The first stage of the reform changed much in our society. The election of the people's deputies and their first congress, and the work of USSR Supreme Soviet evoked a powerful wave of activeness in people, and an interest in the affairs of state. For the first time in the existence of soviet power, the trade unions took their firm and worthy place in the country's parliament. The intellectual and civic potential of the Supreme Soviet combined with public control over its work and broad glasnost are helping in the adoption of vitally necessary decisions. As you know, the second session of the country's parliament considered 34 major state issues.

Many of them were adopted giving due consideration to the proposals and demands of the trade unions stemming from the election platform and instructions to deputies from the trade unions, and the statements of the Sixth AUCCTU Plenum.

Thus, on the plane of the country's economic and social development in 1990 the proportion of resources for current consumption and nonproduction construction will be increased from 78-79% to 86.7%. Major steps have been taken on which the trade unions also insisted, such as increasing the minimum sizes of pensions, grants, and privileges for women and other population categories. Much work has been done on laws on pensions and on vacations, which the USSR Supreme Soviet approved at their first reading and published for national discussion. A law on the examination of collective labor disputes and conflicts has been adopted. Proposals have been submitted to the Supreme Soviet concerning the Law on Regulating Personal Labor Disputes, which should at last guarantee the reliable protection of the right to labor for all categories of Soviet workers without exception.

As defenders of the interests of the workers one direct obligation of the trade unions has been to speak out loudly about the growth of speculation in many sectors of the economy, and about the distortions in the cooperative movement. Our concrete proposals on this acute problem have been convincingly supported in Supreme Soviet decrees adopted by overwhelming majority votes.

A statement issued by the Sixth AUCCTU Plenum also expressed extreme concern regarding the growing shortages of consumer goods, price increases, and the disappearance of inexpensive products from the range available. It is very important that this statement was carefully considered by the Supreme Soviet and government. In the documents that they have adopted consideration has been given to all the main proposals from the trade unions. The list of essential commodities for which prices have been frozen through the end of 1990 has been underpinned legislatively.

Trade union proposals on establishing maximum retail prices for fruit and vegetables, saturating the market with the commodities and medicines in shortest supply, and limiting the export abroad of industrial goods and foodstuffs for which there are shortages for our people are aimed at protecting the consumer. To judge from the comments, this decree of the Supreme Soviet has also been met with approval by the public. A good document has been adopted. But no decree will work in and of itself. The trade unions at the local level, therefore, face major work in implementing it. Our task is to fight persistently for the workers to feel specific positive changes soon in all these acute social problems.

The upcoming elections are shaping the system of popular power in a definitive way. The trade unions have a deep interest in strong and fully empowered soviets that express the will of all strata of the population. Together with these authoritative partners the trade unions will be able successfully to solve the entire set of tasks that faces us.

Judge for yourselves. The draft of the USSR Law on the Common Foundations of Local Self-Management and Local Economies in the USSR proposes that local self-management will insure independent resolution of all matters of a territory's socioeconomic development, environmental protection, and the exercise of citizens' rights and freedoms. Working actively in the soviets and along with the soviets the trade unions will have real opportunities to resolve acute problems such as the provision of housing, foodstuffs, and consumer goods, the organization of public catering, people's leisure activities, and health maintenance.

Practical work in the reform has shown that extending the economic powers of the labor collectives also engenders negative phenomena, first and foremost collective and group egotism. The soviets are called upon to oppose such vain impulses decisively, and to prevent use of the new opportunities that the economic reform is opening up for the labor collectives for their own self-seeking interests.

We must also take the following circumstance into account. The interests of the workers are realized in two spheres—in production—that is, through the labor collectives—and at place of residence—that is, through the local soviets. Many contradictions are arising here. It may also happen that in some places administrative diktat is supplemented by the diktat of the local soviets, which causes definite tension in relations between the labor collectives and the soviets. The trade unions are equally interested in the development of both the production sphere and the social sphere. They can realistically help in improving cooperation between the soviets and the labor collectives.

Thus, inclusion of the trade unions in the system of local self-management and their use of the new opportunities of the soviets will become, on the one hand, an indispensable condition for successful activity by the trade unions themselves, and, on the other, an important factor in harmonizing relations between enterprises and the soviets of people's deputies.

Each trade union organization is now engaged in a serious, and I would say political, examination for the trust of the workers.

During the course of perestroyka the trade unions are gaining new strength and becoming a more active element in our society's political system. A renewal is underway of our entire activity. Notable changes have taken place since the Sixth AUCCTU Plenum. It can be seen that we are on the right track. In a number of places the trade union organs are being formed in a new way, on the delegate principle, and sector and occupational associations are being set up. Many authoritative leaders of labor collectives have come into the trade union committees, including representatives of the strike committees and workers' committees. The primary organizations are acquiring independence, squaring their shoulders, and abandoning functions that are not theirs.

Today the voice of the trade union is being heard more firmly. People are supporting the honest presentation of issues that, apart from us, no one else would prefer to raise. This, however, does not please everyone. Peremptory shouts and advice have been heard from various quarters—what the trade unions should be doing and what they should not.

Who is now criticizing the trade unions? The criticism is coming both from the right and the left. On the one hand we have those who support the former administrative system, who are nostalgic for the command methods of management and would like to have obedient and mute trade unions. On the other hand we have various kinds of pseudoradicals. With their words they are ardent defenders of the interests of the people, but in their deeds they propose solutions to the crisis virtually at the expense of the interests of the people, or measures that are unacceptable to the workers. Strong and independent trade unions have no need either of the former or the latter. To both the former and latter we say: There will be no return to the past! Standing in defense of the interests of the workers, the trade unions will not swerve from their chosen path. This is our principled line and we shall pursue it consistently!

At the same time we must also see that some trade union organizations and committees are ridding themselves only slowly of the old ills: Formalism, sluggishness, and feebleness in defending the rights and legitimate interests of the working man. Wherever the trade union organizations are operating in the old way they are losing the initiative and their prestige. It is precisely the passiveness of the trade unions that in a number of cases leads to the creation of various parallel structures that make demands concerning social protection. Those who think least of all about consolidating the workers' movement or people's real needs often attach themselves to trade union slogans. As a rule these forces act for ambitious, mercenary ends.

Our common ill is the mass strikes that have shaken the country and laid bare the entire acute nature of the economic and social problems that have built up in the labor collectives, while on the other hand they have seriously destabilized the national economy. Today at this AUCCTU plenum it is important once again to affirm that, together with working people, the trade unions will always and in everything support the just demands of the workers. We have been trying for a long time to accomplish adoption of the law on procedure for resolving collective labor disputes (and conflicts). You are aware that at the initiative of the AUCCTU and the government it has been considered and adopted by the Supreme Soviet. Workers and trade unions have now obtained a legislatively defined procedure for protecting their own interests, right down to the strike, when all other means have been exhausted. This is an important social gain, a sign of the new law-governed state.

At the same time it must be stated quite definitely that the trade unions will never support strikes for political motives, or strikes that are called and carried out in violation of the law that has been passed. The main thing is that the trade union organizations have remarked in good time the reasons for the labor conflicts that have occurred, and with the support of the central committees and the trade union councils the AUCCTU has resolved in good time the questions that the workers raise, and has not allowed the matter to reach the extreme measure of worker protest. Today it is also necessary to say that a significant number of labor conflicts arise not because it is difficult to resolve the problems raised by the workers but because the state and economic organs resolve many issues in a nonoperational way and do not consider it necessary to tell people in good time how the reviews of their demands are going. This is often the last straw, the drop that fills the cup to overflowing. A large part of the blame for this also lies with the trade unions, which are supposed not only to put forward demands but also act as guarantors for their fulfillment so that the workers know how the issues that caused the labor conflict are being resolved and can be assured of reliable control over the course of their resolution.

The Election Platform of the Trade Unions

Comrades. Participation in the elections is a real opportunity for the self-assertion of the trade unions as a mass, socially active public organization, a good opportunity to strengthen links with the masses and understand people's hopes and anxieties in greater depth, and then to help them in a practical way.

In the opinion of the AUCCTU Presidium it is a question of the trade unions in each oblast, kray, and republic approaching the elections with a specific program of action. This work is already underway. The Ukrainian, Moscow, Leningrad, Kazakh, Belorussian, Tajik and other trade union councils have defined their programs. They reflect the specific problems of the regions and ways to resolve them.

Obviously there is also a need at our plenum to define general landmarks on which the trade union organizations should build their work at the elections.

Our platform, and we emphasize this particularly, should be a platform of unity and openness, a platform of consolidation of the forces that advocate perestroyka and socialist choice, and at it's center should be the man of labor with his concerns and needs and problems. We are going to the elections with the slogan "Land to the Peasants, Factories to the Workers, Power to the Soviets," for there is now no slogan that is closer or more comprehensible for the workers.

The specific ways to develop the economy and bring the national economy out of crisis—these are the main issues for which the workers must receive answers. The trade unions advocate acceleration of the economic reform and the development on this basis of the independence of the labor collectives, and of all forms of production relations.

In our opinion, it is precisely here that special attention should be paid to the problem of labor organization.

In fact, can we live better while we work worse, thinking more about sharing out the common pie than about baking it. As before the producers are literally stifled by gross indicators, outdated instructions, rates and tariffs and so forth. It is, therefore, today more important than ever to help emancipate the state enterprises, but not to crush state ownership. The trade unions will act in the interests of the man of labor if they insist on devising a state policy of transformations in the sphere of labor relations, and on the adoption and introduction of a law on the socialist enterprise as quickly as possible.

The trade unions will strive for priority development of vitally important avenues and focus attention on the sore points in society.

The food problem remains very acute. The situation is still strained almost everywhere in supplies of foodstuffs. In 1989 unsatisfied demand is estimated at almost R40 billion. Price increases for produce, hidden in state trade and open in cooperative trade and in the kolkhoz [collective farm] markets, are evoking people's justified indignation. Naturally, this situation is leading to a declining standard of living for millions of Soviet people.

The food question cannot be resolved if we do not create proper working conditions for rural workers. Voters must be told frankly about the state of the countryside, and about how neglected and forgotten the villages are, and how people live in them, often not receiving any kind of assistance from state or soviet organs.

All of this gives the trade unions justification for trying to achieve from soviet and economic organs at the local level the development and consistent implementation of programs for the social development of the countryside and the rebirth of remote and small villages and hamlets, and for drawing the attention of the workers to the need to provide real help for the countryside, including the creation of funds for the social transformation of the countryside. It is important to bring scientific and technical progress to the countryside and insure fair value exchange between city and countryside.

It should be emphasized that the trade unions support the line of diversity in the forms used for the organization of the rural economy, and free choice of those forms by the peasants. But at the same time we are categorically against attempts to cast aspersions on the production of kolkhozes and sovkhozes [state farms] or to dismantle them. There are many solid and efficiently operating collective farms that are essentially feeding the country. The workers themselves should decide their fates, not orders from above.

The growing shortages in the domestic market and providing the population with consumer goods and services constitute a very important problem. The trade unions are called upon to fight for a rapid resolution of this task, taking all steps necessary to increase the production of consumer goods. It is common knowledge that for 1990 it is planned to increase their output 20%. We must strive for total fulfillment of this decision, paying special attention to saturating the market with those goods that are today in short supply and for which the shortages are causing social tension and making people nervous. There is no doubt that specific proposals from the trade unions to prevent the "disappearance" of inexpensive goods that enjoy demand among the population will be widely supported. We must strive for fulfillment of the demands, underpinned legislatively by the USSR Supreme Soviet, that the councils of ministers in the union republics also make provision in the plans for economic and social development for state orders to produce goods for children and older people, including goods at socially low prices. The workers must see that it is precisely the trade unions that are fighting for faster saturation of our domestic market as they approach the elections.

The definite positive shifts that have occurred in recent years in housing construction should not reassure us. It has still not been possible to achieve radical change in the rates of housing construction. Despite the overfulfillment of plan tasks in past years, today we must state that during the first 10 months of the year the commissioning of housing scarcely exceeded the six-month target, and there was lagging in the construction of housing enterprises and in the construction materials industry. The position is becoming worse because of the complications in maintaining the housing inventory, the low level in the provision of services and amenities, and the poor development of the base for the housing and municipal economy.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that without decisive and to some extent unconventional measures, it is impossible to change the situation. The trade unions will insist that housing programs be devised in the sectors and regions on the basis of new approaches. Much will be determined by how actively and with what degree of interest the soviet, economic, and trade union organs will be able to involve the labor collectives in this work, and also the public, which, as life shows, has still not lost the skills of building well and quickly.

Today many people want to grow fruit and vegetables around their own well-organized houses located in the countryside close to the city. Construction of such houses makes it possible to return to people that sense of being master of their own land, and to insure that fine housing is built not for just one generation of Soviet people.

For this what is needed is an effective system of privileges and conditions that encourage individual builders and unfetter the initiatives of enterprises, and their sense of business entrepeneurship. Everything possible must be done to make building one's own home a prestigious and economically advantageous business. We must interest enterprises in all sectors of the national economy in the production of construction materials from production waste and local raw materials. In our opinion these matters should find a place in the election platforms of the soviets and the trade union committees.

In connection with the creation of a qualitatively new system of local self-management we need to look anew at the problems of creating, developing, and operating the social and cultural base at enterprises. In most countries in the world public health, leisure, and sports establishments are owned by a municipality. In our country a significant part of the material base for the social sphere has been formed around the labor collectives. Local soviets, which are becoming the real masters on their own territories, will undoubtedly raise issues concerning the full and efficient use of the entire sociocultural base of the labor collectives in the interests of the entire population of a village, rayon, or city, with, of course, the agreement of the labor collectives. This will be a correct, statesmanlike, and truly economic formulation of a question that, proceeding from the interests of the workers and their families, the trade unions should support. But at the same time we are right, during the course of the elections, also to make a demand of the soviets—to insure comprehensive planning for development of the sociocultural sphere, including the enterprises, and to be directly involved in providing funding for the construction and operation of health, cultural, and sports establishments, and establishments that work with children, which are set up under the labor collectives.

Questions concerning the ecology, environmental protection, and working conditions at enterprises are everywhere being raised with sharpness and alarm. More than 165 zones on the country's territory are zones of ecological damage, and almost 20% of the population lives in those zones. There are many sections and shops where the parameters describing working conditions are not some percentage but orders of magnitude lower than medical standards and world standards. The working people are reluctant to reconcile themselves to this. So the trade unions are obliged to raise this problem persistently during the course of the election struggle. In turn, it is worth, for example, supporting the position of the trade unions in Moscow and in Yaroslavl Oblast, which have assumed an obligation to guarantee for the workers a ban on the commissioning of production projects and the designing of machine tools and equipment that do not insure the strictest observance of the state standards for work safety and environmental protection.

The various independent (first and foremost ecological) public organizations and movements could be not bad partners for us in these matters.

In advancing the election platform of the trade unions and while supporting perestroyka, we proceed, and will proceed from the premise that no economic transformation should harm the vital interests of the workers or affect their standard of living.

The position of the trade unions is that realization of the economic reform should be linked closely to providing guarantees for the workers against possible consequences unfavorable to them, particularly in making workers and employees redundant in material production. About three million people have been made redundant over the past three years. It is time that we made this process more or less painless. But it will get worse as the new management methods are developed, and in connection with the conversion of military production, the halting of construction projects, and scientific and technical progress.

We have already observed the inability of the state job-placement system to protect the population promptly against unemployment, and to create the proper conditions for job-placement in particular categories of citizens, first and foremost persons with a limited work capacity, and young people and women.

This all requires the immediate creation within the framework of the reform of a national program to deal with unemployment. Proposals on this issue were put forward by the AUCCTU at the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and have been submitted to the government.

At the elections the trade unions have every reason to act in concert with the future organs of local power in putting forward proposals on the development and implementation of regional programs to retrain workers and find jobs for them. We proceed from the premise that a Soviet person should obtain from his own Soviet power the guarantee of working freely where he lives, in the immediate vicinity of his own environment.

The increase in crime is a matter of deep concern and anxiety for people. Permit me to remind you that at the first congress, USSR people's deputies from the trade unions, Babchenko, Luchenok, Pamfilov, and Safiullin, submitted a request to the government on the subject of the actions of law enforcement agencies in the matter of intensifying the fight against crime.

Organized crime and its connection with the shadow economy, drug addiction, and racketeering—these and other kinds of crime are showing a steady growth trend, and as life has shown, some law enforcement agencies are unable to cope with these phenomena. Here we must rely on everyone; only then can be expect any major turn for the better. On the overall national scale we need a goal-oriented program to fight crime, and the trade unions are ready to be involved in this. We support the practical affairs and activity of the interim committees to fight crime. We would also like to call to mind one very important previously inadequately resolved aspect of the problem; namely, legal protection for workers in law enforcement agencies. It may be said quite definitely that a militia without rights will not protect us. Bringing order and making life safe in our cities and villages are demands heard from all workers. This must be reflected in the trade unions' election programs.

Many vitally important problems were raised in the trade union platform with which we went to the elections for USSR people's deputies. They included a 40-hour work week, eradication of the "black subbotniks," and extending privileges for workers, women, and veterans of labor. The AUCCTU has consistently submitted to the government a proposal that the labor collectives themselves can resolve these problems. They now have that right in many questions; our task is to fight for a situation in which each collective will actively exercise those rights.

More than 30 million members of the trade unions are young people, of whom one-third are students and those studying at technical schools and vocational and technical schools. But it must be stated directly that in general the trade union organs at all levels are paying scant attention to this social category. Purely youth problems are today being multiplied by the difficulties that the country is experiencing, and are becoming even worse. Cost accounting, leasing, and the structural changes in the economy are making qualitatively new and strict demands of young people. They include the fact that those who cannot work are mostly young people. As before the student body stands on the edge of poverty if no help is available from parents. The conditions in many youth hostels are simply humiliating for human dignity, and it is difficult for the young family to live. In many of these questions the trade unions are making a poor showing, and they essentially have no clear-cut youth policy and only a poor knowledge of the situation in the youth milieu. The elections and the need to provide an answer for this category of voters are forcing the trade union organs at all levels to look critically at our work with youth problems so as to offer concrete programs of action. The most correct thing will be to involve young members of the trade unions in this analysis and in work on the programs. The recent all-union student forum and the work of the association of student trade union organizations are good examples of this. Here we have been able to gain a new and sharp insight into many student problems and specific measures to resolve them, and we hope that on the basis of proposals from the AUCCTU, the Central Committee of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League, and the State Committee for Public Education, the country's government will take major steps to provide social assistance for the student body.

In a number of territories significant tensions have arisen today in interethnic relations. In some places these problems may be at the center of the election struggle. We must see that in a number of the all-union republics this is exactly where the line passes that separates the indigenous and nonindigenous populations. Both the former and the latter are members of the trade unions. Herein lies the complexity and crucial nature of the position of the trade unions under those conditions.

The goals of renewing national culture, language, and environment are noble ones. They are of vital interest to people, and the trade unions must defend them. On the other hand, it can be clearly seen how the problems built up in the years of Stalinism and the period of stagnation, and how waves of national emotion sometimes break through the dam of reason and tolerance. Letters and statements are being sent to the AUCCTU, and delegations arrive from workers living outside their own national regions. Instances of discrimination and infringement on civic and labor rights on national grounds are being cited. The numbers of people leaving their usual places of work and residence are growing. The trade unions will show themselves to be true defenders of the interests of the workers if at the elections they act from internationalist positions and advocate all-around improvement in interethnic relations and oppose any attempts to split labor collectives and regions along national lines or destroy the union of sovereign republics and the friendship of our peoples.

We are all called upon to fight together for an opportunity to create a truly new, socialist federation in which its very structure and the nature of ties and relations within the federation would be a guarantee for the self-preservation and development of each nation and would insure the opportunity for their equal cooperation for the common good and for common goals within the framework of our unified state.

When talking about the election platform we must emphasize one basic circumstance. The times are now such that it is easy and simple to make demands. Our position should be distinguished in that in each specific case the trade unions are able to propose an alternative version and underpin their proposals with practical deeds. The inhabitants of the ravaged Armenian cities and villages, and pensioners and other low-income strata of the population have felt this for themselves. Each time, our goal-oriented program should be specific and clear and brought to its logical conclusion. People should know that they should not merely make demands of the trade unions but that they can and should do much themselves.

The above, of course, is not an exhaustive list of all the problems. But they are the most important, common goals of the work of the trade unions and their participation in the election campaign. It is also necessary to be able to express and really defend the specific interests of the workers, peasants, cooperative people, intellectual workers, veterans, women, and servicemen. The draft appeal of the AUCCTU "To the Members of the Trade Unions and All Citizens of the Country," which the AUCCTU Presidium is submitting to you for debate, is devoted to this.

The Tactical Involvement of the Trade Unions in the Election Struggle

Comrades. Today we have a great deal to learn, and many of the steps that were are taking we are taking for the first time. This applies also to the fact that our plenum, for the first time in many years, must define tactics for the involvement of the trade unions in the election struggle.

Let us take up the question of the nomination of candidates for the posts of deputies. What is the best way to proceed? Nominate and support only trade union candidates? Unite in a bloc with other public forces? Support independent candidates? Evidently, the possibility of any particular choice must be considered for each specific case.

It is understandable that first and foremost it is a matter of proper representation for the people of labor in the organs of popular power.

The trade unions have a profound interest in nominating to the soviets the most worthy and convinced fighters for perestroyka and the renewal of society, who enjoy deserved respect and trust from the people and the labor comrades, people who are capable of thinking and working in the new way.

Among such candidates for the trade unions it is very important to provide a proper representation for the labor, scientific, and training collectives. In our view, the trade unions are called upon to give the most active support to workers and peasants nominated as candidates. This position of ours, of course, requires clarification.

We are well aware that bringing the country out of the crisis situation is unrealizable without the intelligentsia. Intellectual workers, representatives of the scientific and technical and creative intelligentsia, physicians and teachers—all who through their labor and talent are promoting the country's spiritual renewal and fighting for perestroyka and the renewal of socialism, should receive trade union support in their nomination as candidates.

At the same time, something else needs to be said. It is precisely in the interests of perestroyka and the renewal of our society that we must take note of the attempts to belittle the role of the working class and the laboring peasantry in the life of our society, and to push representatives of the leading creative classes to the sidewalk of political life and essentially set the workers and peasants and rank-and-file workers outside politics.

We must recognize self-critically that at the last elections of USSR people's deputies the trade unions engaged in the nomination of candidates for the post of deputy from their own public organization and played a totally inadequate part in the elections for the territorial okrugs. Many production workers, first and foremost rank-and-file workers and kolkhoz farmers, were left without our support, and this, along with other factors, led to a situation in which the number of rank-and-file workers in the country's highest legislative organs was severely curtailed. At the last elections only 14.4% and 5.2 % respectively were elected.

In certain circles this approach is not only approved but even theoretically justified. Doctor of historical sciences Shkaratan, sociologist Kudyukin, and jurist Permyakov recently had an article entitled "For Democracy Or Against It?" published in IZVESTIYA. And these authors calmly say that "the workers are experiencing this in vain, in the spring everything at the elections was fine, but to have educated people receive mandates is a very desirable condition for work as a deputy." These defenders of democracy even resorted to the snobbish precept of "render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's" and "to the craftsman the things that are the craftsman's."

In order to find an answer to this far from simple issue let us turn to Lenin. When before his death Lenin felt that the party was in a crisis situation because of the struggle for power that lay ahead, to whom did he turn (mentally) in his last articles in his political legacy? He turned to the working class. He insistently demands that as many workers as possible be brought into the party leadership and the country's organs of power.

"What is needed in order to strengthen Soviet power?" he asks in his article "Better Fewer, But Better." And this is his answer: "For this it is necessary that the best elements in our social order—namely, the leading workers, first, and second elements that are really enlightened, for whom we can guarantee that they will accept nothing on faith and will say not a word against their conscience—would not fear to recognize difficulties and would fear no struggle in order to achieve a goal that they have seriously set themselves."

There it is—Lenin's understanding of the unity of the worker class and the truly enlightened intelligentsia, whose best representatives the trade unions will broadly support at the elections.

We value highly the contribution made by our intelligentsia to the development of society and we see how competently and actively its representatives are working in the USSR Supreme Soviet. But we think that all classes and social groups in the population should be adequately represented in the organs of power, first and foremost the workers and peasants. Of course, it is not a question of restoring former schedules of appointments or violations of citizens' equal rights. No, it is a question of helping to reveal the competent and politically active workers and peasants and of giving them the necessary assistance in the election campaign.

In accordance with the election laws of the USSR and the union republics, labor and educational collectives, public organizations, and meetings of electors at their places of residence enjoy the right to submit nominations for the posts of deputies. In our opinion, the trade unions can become actively involved in the nomination of candidates in each of these three ways.

Under the law, in the labor collectives and in collectives of scientific and educational institutions the trade union committee has every justification for naming its own candidates who can then fight for the right to be the nomination of the entire collective.

Small collectives at enterprises and in educational institutions can nominate candidates at joint meetings. Here much organizational work is required by the trade unions and the trade union councils to create unique territorial blocs of trade union organizations that would be able to propose worthy candidates, and later, in the elections, act as a single whole. This kind of bloc of trade union organizations could become an important cell in all our election work.

In the nomination of candidates by the trade union organizations it is important to be oriented on the interests of the labor collectives in general, and in every case to support the strongest candidate to represent the interests of working people in the soviets.

Of course, it must be emphasized that no tactical successes in the elections can justify any retreat from principled positions and the protective functions of the trade unions. In our view, trade union support for candidates from other public organizations should be linked directly to their readiness to support and implement very important measures aimed at improving people's quality of life.

The trade unions must fight for the nomination and election to the soviets of the most authoritative and principled, bold and persistent, and competent working people. Those who see the problems clearly and can find ways to resolve them, and are able to bring what they start to a conclusion, and who live by the interests of the workers and can carry the workers along with them.

While placing at the center of attention the task of providing worthy representation for the labor collectives in the soviets, the trade unions do not have the right to ignore regional interests or the interests of the various social groups and strata of society. It is a question primarily of the 56 million pensioners, the millions of children, schoolchildren and students, and a large part of the creative and scientific intelligentsia.

The trade unions can and must wage a struggle to nominate their own candidates at meetings and gatherings of voters at their places of residence.

Here they can be very active in raising questions concerning the provision of housing amenities, the development of housing, culture, sports, and tourism, work with children, the health of people and of the environment, and they can act in a united bloc with public forces and informal movements whose aims and tasks are close to those of the trade unions.

For example, the trade unions have much in common with the veterans' and women's organizations, the children's foundation and the cultural foundation, the ecological movements, and the society for the disabled. It is possible to combine our efforts, and the joint nomination of particular candidates is also possible.

Nomination of candidates directly from the trade union organs is of fundamental importance. Full advantage must be taken of this opportunity at all levels of the newly formed soviets. The main thing is that our representative be an authoritative and widely known personality, a true leader of the workers.

We must learn to vote not only "for" but also "against." It is important to define our attitude toward candidates from other public forces. It would be correct to analyze their programs and suggest that they familiarize themselves with the election platform of the trade unions. And as a result determine which candidates the trade unions will support giving due consideration to their position at the elections.

The elections are a political struggle, particularly under present conditions. As in any struggle, in the trade unions also there will be supporters and opponents. It is in the interests of the country and of all the workers that in each rayon, city, oblast, kray, and republic the organs of popular power be formed democratically from among active supporters of perestroyka.

Can it be otherwise? Are there forces in society that would like to see the soviets as something else, see them directed along a different path? It must be said unambiguously that there are. We see that irresponsible political adventurists and demagogues, corrupt and criminal elements, enemies of socialism, nationalists and chauvinists of every stripe, and declasse elements want to take advantage of the fruits of glasnost and democracy, and frequently succeed in doing so.

In this far from simple situation, as they prepare for the elections, the Soviet trade unions announce their support for the efforts of the party, which initiated perestroyka and essentially the building of a new home with truly democratic foundations, renewal of the political structure, and radical reform of the economy. We support the party and firmly advocate the renewal of socialism.

Together with the creative organizations and societies and foundations, the trade unions could act in support of regional programs for the spiritual renewal of society. Here, almost everywhere there are tangles of acute problems. Here lie the roots of today's lagging and the slippage in social, political, and economic mechanisms. It is also an extremely important problem for the trade unions from the standpoint of the workers' interests. The culture of the worker is essentially the most reliable guarantee for the realization of his socioeconomic interests in a rapidly changing society.

Many strains have built up around freedom of religious faith. This is the reality. And the trade unions, which unite both believers and nonbelievers, cannot stand on the sideline of this reality. Many people would look differently at trade unions that move to open, honest dialogue with the representatives of the various religions. The terms used in this dialogue could be charity and morality, and help for the aged and the veterans, and for single people and large families.

I would note that movement toward the trade unions is seen also on the part of believers themselves. Thus, a general meeting of practicing Muslims at the Chimkent mosque conducted a special review of the need for Muslim pensioners, war veterans, and labor invalids to be involved in the republic trade union conference. The believers named a whole series of problems that they think must be resolved together with the trade unions, spoke out unanimously in favor of further strengthening the trade union movement, and emphasized the importance of the movement in safeguarding the interests of the workers, including the joint struggle against nationalism and chauvinism.

The informal groups and movements have become an important sign of the times.

There are now about 60,000 such formations in the country. More than half of them are being formed in the cultural and leisure spheres. About one-tenth of them have a sociopolitical thrust. Although it should be noted that there has recently been a noticeable politicization of other informal associations that have started to represent a real political force.

Unfortunately, in the informal groups they often give support to extremist ideas and leaders who push people's healthy initiative and activeness onto the path of confrontation and cheap demagoguery. It is understandable that in the interests of the working man and of the entire country, preparations for the elections should not promote a split or the overemphasis of contradictions. It should help to consolidate all forces in society in the struggle for perestroyka.

The trade unions can do a great deal in this direction if they make active contact with the various popular initiative groups so as to band together on a unified social basis with the healthy part of the independent organizations and movements. An analysis with goodwill of the program of the "informals" and dialogue with them, and the search for points of contact, compromise, and well-argued criticism should find a place in the election work of the trade unions.

It is important that at the elections the trade union organizations act everywhere against empty social demagoguery. It is most unfortunate that attempts to gain the votes and trust of the electorate are sometimes made through empty promises, generous and subsequently unrealizable promissory notes, and loud political rhetoric. We must not allow deception of the people for the sake of a mandate. We must help the voters to make their determination within the range of alternative candidates, and find out the most important thing—who is ready to work in the interests of the people.

We reckon that the plenum will comprehensively discuss all these proposals from the AUCCTU Presidium and thus define our tactics for the upcoming election struggle.

Organizational-Propaganda Work of the Trade Unions During the Course of the Election Campaign

Comrades. Active participation by the trade unions in the elections is a major opportunity for widely announcing our goals and actions and for appealing to the workers and the entire population of the country. Therefore, organizational-propaganda support for all this work is of key importance.

What the AUCCTU Presidium has in mind is the formation of working groups to conduct the election campaign for the trade unions with the involvement of all departments of the AUCCTU, the trade union Central Committee, and organizations subordinate to the AUCCTU. We propose the creation of a public council for joint actions and invite the representatives of the various public forces to participate in it.

The trade union organizations at the local level have started this great work.

At meetings of their presidiums and at their plenums many republic, kray, and oblast trade union councils have adopted election platforms and approved plans for practical actions. Commissions, headquarters, or working groups have started to act everywhere to organize trade union election work.

In Moscow, a center for trade union action in the elections for the local organs of power has been set up on the base of the Moscow city trade union council training and methodological center, and work has started in a debating society for problems concerning the socioeconomic development of the city and its rayons, and the role and place of the trade unions in perestroyka. In each rayon candidate support groups have been set up on the bases of the palaces of culture. Here it is planned to organize meetings between candidates and the public and to provide broad information for voters on the candidates and their programs.

Much work to nominate candidates for the posts of deputies has been done by the trade union organizations in Kazakhstan. There, candidates from the trade unions have already been nominated for most electoral okrugs.

In the Kharkov Oblast trade union council a deputies' club has been set up for the purpose of creating a unified front in the election struggle to form democratic and representative organs of popular power, and representatives of the various public organizations and informal associations are actively working in it. The task for the club is to coordinate the efforts of all the organizations that are part of it in support of candidates, and to work with the candidates themselves to increase their knowledge of the economy and of jurisprudence, master the art of debate and so forth.

One very important factor in the preparations for the elections is an in-depth study of public opinion. It would be advisable to set up groups in the trade union councils to analyze the sociopolitical situation, and to recruit sociological specialists to study processes in the public sphere. A local structure has now essentially been formed for the departments of the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion. The trade union councils must make active use of its possibilities in order to make the correct choice of goals and methods in election work and to amend them in good time.

Under present conditions it is most important to place the emphasis on the workers and students and inhabitants of microrayons. During the course of the election, in our opinion we must revive on a broad, new basis the practice of holding general oblast, kray, and republic "Days of Trade Union Information," which have given a good account of themselves, and regular meetings with trade union workers in the labor collectives and student hostels, and to organize individual receptions for workers there.

The trade union clubs, libraries, hostels, red corners, and sports establishments are the strong points for the entire organizational-propaganda work of the trade unions in the elections. More than 70% of the country's population lives in zones influenced by the trade union centers of culture and sport. We have a fine opportunity to present candidates to their voters there and to show how the trade unions are today resolving particular issues, and to listen to people's opinions on the shortcomings in our work and their proposals to the trade unions. Better use should be made of the local large-circulation press and of radio and television for this purpose.

The election campaign is a common matter for all trade union central committees, councils, and committees and all the primary organizations. In this work it is important to insure mutual support and organize the exchange of information and experience between the various parts of the country. All our work at the elections and our common goals in the struggle for socialist ideals are designed to further strengthen the trade union movement and close our ranks. Here, the elements of the newly created information system and press service of the trade unions should be fully in evidence, as should the central trade union press, particularly the newspaper TRUD, which has again increased the numbers of its subscribers and has every opportunity to become the main propaganda center for the trade unions' election campaign.

We must acquire new experience in participation in holding elections and make use of modern forms in this work. It is important to publicize extensively the election platforms of the trade union organizations and to organize their circulation and explanations of them in the labor and educational collectives and at places of residence.

Comrades. For the trade unions the elections are a new phase in the political struggle to extricate the country from crisis, and to bring stability to the economic situation and provide social security for the working man. We resolutely support the party on this path and we are in solidarity with all healthy forces in the country. Our credo is not confrontation but the consolidation of all who hold dear the fate of socialism.

The elections offer a real opportunity to strengthen the authority of the trade unions and for recognition of our true role in society, and to reach our new goals.

Success for trade union candidates offers a real opportunity to resolve many problems in the interests of all strata of our society, including the millions of disabled, pensioners, students, and those for whom life today is difficult or who live below the poverty line. People rightly link their hopes for a better life to the trade unions. We cannot, we have no right to betray their expectations.

We are moving toward the elections to the republic and local soviets with a clear understanding of the exceptionally acute nature of the times through which our country is living. The fate of perestroyka and socialism depend largely on the results of the upcoming elections. Comrades, let us through our joint efforts insure a worthy representation for the working people in the soviets, and let us fight to make the spokesmen of their popular power spokesmen for the vital interests of the people!

Economic

Academician Shmelev on Economic Reform Strategy

PM1112165089 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 22 Nov 89 p 12

[Gianni Corbi report on interview with economist Nikolay Shmelev in Rome; date not given]

[Excerpts] Rome—The harsh Russian winter has begun. The miners are on strike. There are shortages of essential commodities in stores almost throughout the Soviet Union. What could happen in the coming months? We put this question to academician Nikolay Shmelev, in Rome at the invitation of the Italy-USSR Association for a series of lectures and conversations—some official, others less so. [passage omitted]

"The economists conference [in Moscow]," Shmelev told us, "confirmed yet again the existence of three classic tendencies. On the Right, the conservatives; on the Left, the Radicals; and in the middle, the majority of Gorbachevian reformers. I am often portrayed as a radical, But actually, if you really want to label and pigeonhole me, I would place myself at the extreme left of the Gorbachev-Abalkin group—the latter is a deputy minister and official economic adviser. To sum up, I would define myself as a radical reformer.

"Two things emerged clearly from the conference," Shmelev went on. "The first is that the conservatives or tough opponents have nothing new to propose. The second is that the Gorbachevian center has prevailed principally because it has shown that there is no alternative strategy to be set against perestroyka. A series of incisive reforms were proposed and will be discussed in the coming weeks in Moscow. In fact the government will present deputies with new laws on ownership, leasing, taxation, banking, and so forth.

"However," Shmelev went on, "I would now also like to stress the not insignificant differences between me and the stances of Gorbachev and Abalkin. There is no disagreement between us on long-term strategies. The differences, and even disputes, stem from what I consider the absolute necessity to impart a very great acceleration to the private sector. This is the only feasible way to achieve an efficient and modern market economy in our country, too. Unless we open up to the outside world right away, and unless we impart a decisive boost to the present transition phase, we risk failure. We should behave—both psychologically and practically—as though wrestling with an outright war economy demanding fast and incisive decisionmaking. However, our leadership group's activity in this regard seems to me too slow, too cautious, too unimaginative. Unless we achieve most of the long pondered and discussed reforms within two years, I really do not know what will happen."

[Corbi] Some time ago you argued that in this difficult and delicate transition phase it would be advisable to import vast quantities of consumer goods—the figure of $10 billion was mentioned at the time—to fill the stores' empty shelves and to stop an increasingly dissatisfied and angry population from complaining quite so much. What happened to that decision? Why was it not implemented?

[Shmelev] Actually I would like $25 billion worth of commodities and consumer goods to be imported right away. We would thus give perestroyka some breathing space and halt the uncontrollable acceleration of profiteering and black marketeering. How is such a huge sum to be repaid? Of course it is not an easy problem to resolve, partly because our banking and financial system is poorly equipped and lacks experience in this field. But if we granted more scope to peasant free enterprises, leaving them free to operate as they want, agricultural output would increase greatly, enabling us to save billions of dollars on grain imports. Not to mention the considerable gold reserves that could be provided as guarantees, rather like Italy did—12 years ago, I believe—when it had to seek vast loans on the financial market. I repeat: The struggle for perestroyka will be won or lost in the next 2 years.

[Corbi] Is it possible—as political scientist Andranik Migranyan argues—that Gorbachev could be forced to assume absolute powers in order to salvage the reforms?

[Shmelev] We have taken the difficult and tortuous path of democracy, and we will not leave it. But democracy has its costs, as we are learning. There are three main dangers—interlinked to some extent. The first is that of the reforms. I foresee no insurmountable problems emerging here, except the pressure of time. The second is that of the nationalities. But Gorbachev will manage to find acceptable solutions, using the powers which he already has, which will increase after the next congress. However, there is a third problem, which is becoming exceptionally serious. I am referring to organized crime—an official mafia and an illegal mafia, which operate openly, conducting complex, sophisticated, and very dangerous sabotage activity. Here Migranyan is absolutely right. It will take drastic measures to defeat this phenomenon, by which I mean those that we used to call "administrative."

Consumer Market To Improve Despite Inflation

904D0032A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 48, 29 Nov 89 p 1

[Forecast of A.V. Orlov recorded by M. Loginov: "Tomorrow's Weather"]

[Text] At the request of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA A.V. Orlov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Economic Reform, forecasts the development of the economy in the immediate future.

I believe that we have yet to reach the low point, but are somewhere close to it. Everything possible needs to be done to emerge from the recession. But we should view things soberly, the economy is a system with tremendous inertia. It is hardly to be expected that the decisions which have been or will be adopted in the current year will abruptly change the situation immediately. The flywheel of the "negative processes" has picked up speed, and stopping it will be difficult. Economists of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] expect the overall inflation index in the consumer sector of the economy by the year's end to have amounted to 10-11 percent (for comparison, 8.4 percent in 1988, 7.3 percent in 1987 and 6.2 percent in 1986). This rate of inflation may persist in 1990 also. In the first half of 1989, emission constituted R8.9 billion (one-third more than for the corresponding months of 1988). By the end of the year this amount will have doubled. There are almost R320 billion in savings bank accounts and approximately R100 billion in people's pockets. Unsatisfied demand is today put at R150-165 billion. Money of the black market and underground business is not counted here. The population's income will grow at a high rate, but will be devalued to a considerable extent by the decline in money's purchasing power. There are currently 18 kopecks of commodities per R1 of monetary supply. Under our conditions inflation has assumed a specific form—commodities are disappearing from free sale. For example, only five percent of foodstuffs is sold currently without appreciable irregularities. Besides the chronically scarce commodities, trading in places is experiencing irregularities even in rye bread and rye and wheat bread, potatoes....

I believe that contradictory trends will be contending in the final months of 1989 and the start of 1990. On the one hand, aside from the inertia of the "negative processes" and not the best results for the agricultural year, we cannot rule out a repetition of the strikes and an exacerbation of interethnic conflicts. But, on the other, some things are promising. "Natural resistibility" to recession and the nonacceptance by people themselves of the decline in discipline are growing. This is typical of young social systems. We are emerging, it seems (if, I repeat, there are no unforeseen breakdowns) from the grim situation in transport. The situation on the consumer market should improve somewhat, in my view, in the coming months. True, not so much from production, unfortunately, as from the fact that imported supplies are coming (imported commodities were purchased in the period January through September to the extent of R35 billion, which was R6 billion more than in the same period of last year). Many domestic commodities have been held up en route also. Measures have now been devised for stabilizing the consumer market and increasing price control. This is part of the package of special measures which will be incorporated in the 1990 plan. But an even more wide-ranging government program lies ahead, and it will be submitted to the Second Congress of People's Deputies.

It is often asked: Will ration cards for some basic necessities be introduced in the near future? Will not their price increase?

There can be no question even of an increase in the price of basic foodstuffs and non-food commodities at the present time, and it is not simply a question of the fact that the market is already very imbalanced. Social tension is too great. As far as ration cards are concerned.... Various tokens of the quota'd sale of meat are already being employed in 33 oblast (kray) centers of our country on the basis of 1-2 kg per inhabitant a month. In 20 cities some 400-500 grams of animal oil, and in 16, 100 grams of tea, are being sold by coupon. Also sugar, washing powder, soap, exercise books.... What next? True, there is the view that a bird in the hand is better than two in the bush: While there is no abundance in the stores, there is a guaranteed minimum by ration card ("economies" in sugar coupons here will, seemingly, give a little push....) But ration coupons are not, after all, a panacea for our troubles. This is the wrong way.

A difficult period lies ahead, but I am sure that a slow and difficult recovery awaits us.

Budget Interests Protected at State's Expense

PM1212103989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Yu. Rytov article under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "Facts About Profits"]

[Text] **Reports by the USSR State Committee for Statistics testify that this year's profits growth is considerably faster than planned. The annual targets envisaged 2.7-percent growth. But during the first nine months, compared with the corresponding period last year (excluding state farms and the USSR Main Administration for State Insurance), profits increased by 5.2 percent.**

So, what is behind this apparently rosy picture?

First paradox.

We have succeeded in achieving such a sharp leap in profits despite an insignificant rate of industrial output growth (2.3 percent during the first nine months). Is this possible? Of course it is—given a sizeable reduction in the prime costs of production. But in fact, unfortunately, we failed to achieve this. Specifically, in January-September of this year, compared with the corresponding period last year, expenditure per R1 of industrial output rose by 0.1 percent.

The conclusion is obvious: The rosy picture in terms of profits conceals rampant growth of wholesale and retail prices—even though it has escaped all-embracing analysis.

Second paradox.

The statistical report tells us that budget revenue from the profits (revenues) of state enterprises and organizations in January-September was R86.8 billion, which is R3.3 billion less than during the same period last year.

There we have it! The profits growth rate was almost double the plan indicators, and yet our long-suffering budget fails to receive its allocated share of payments! How could this happen? Let's look into it. The total volume of profit earned by the national economy during the first nine months amounts to R168 billion. This is R14 billion more than envisaged by enterprise and association plans. But... the plans themselves were R8 billion below the state control indicators!

Incidentally, some reader might object, above-plan profit also exceeds the control indicators. He would be right. Yes, it does exceed them. Taking the first nine months, by approximately R8 billion. Therefore, should the state budget not receive its share?

Third paradox.

It is well known that the profit distribution normatives now in operation are individually tailored to each enterprise (something that many economists categorically objected to in the past, proposing a standard uniform approach). Each collective knows that it can retain such and such a percentage of its profits and is obliged to pay so much to ministry funds and so much to the state budget.

Now it has finally become clear: The strictly individual approach toward the setting of normatives conceals "petty tricks" by departments. Specialists have a term: Principle of equal burden of payments. It simply means this: Taking an enterprise's specific features into account, normatives must give equal consideration to the interests of the collective, the sector, and the budget. Every now and again, however, this principle is violated.

I was given some interesting information at the USSR Ministry of Finance. The "equal burden principle" was violated by 733 out of 8,628 enterprises under union jurisdiction which were inspected. The amount by which deductions from profits payable to ministries' centralized funds exceeded payments into the budget this year was R472.6 million. Almost half a billion!

Furthermore, 1,350 enterprises pay less than 10 percent of their profit into the budget. Another 1,260 pay less than 20 percent. But this is not all. There are 1,152 enterprises under union jurisdiction (among those inspected) which have been given dispensation not to pay any of their profits to the state budget.

So, what kind of social justice are we talking about? How are we going to solve our social problems if more than half of enterprises (at least this is what the selective study shows) either make no contribution at all to budget revenues or make just an extremely modest contribution?

Yes, life has spotlighted many vulnerable points in the Law on the State Enterprise. The administrative edict system must be given its due: These points were very skillfully exploited. And departmental interests—for the umpteenth time!—have prevailed over our common state interest....

Hard Currency Problems of Travelers Noted

90UI0198A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 49, 9-15 Dec 89 p 7

[Report on interview with I. Khalevinskiy, deputy chief of the Consular Administration of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by Yu. Sigov: "On a Trip 'Beyond the Cordon'"; date and place not specified]

[Text] **Recently, the number of trips of Soviet citizens going abroad has increased significantly. Just in the 10 months of 1989 more than a million and a half persons have gone abroad from the USSR on personal invitations.**

At the same time, under conditions of a substantial simplification of the law on leaving the country, various kinds of rogues have also rushed to get "beyond the cordon," which creates serious problems in the work of Soviet offices abroad. I. Khalevinskiy, deputy chief of the Consular Administration of the USSR MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], talks about this.

[Sigov] Information is beginning to appear in the press that some of our citizens who went out of the country on invitation from abroad are turning to Soviet offices abroad with requests for hard currency assistance, inasmuch as the receiving country refuses to give financial support. Is this so?

[Khalevinskiy] Indeed, our embassies in countries of Western Europe and the United States are being visited more and more often by Soviet citizens who left as representatives of cooperatives to arrange ties with foreign firms or who are in search of partners abroad, declaring that they, so they say, "spent all they had", and, therefore, they ask to be put up for the night, have a seat reserved on an aircraft, and be provided hard currency for 3-4 days in order "to see the sights of local capitals" before flight departure. But, it should be realized that the consular departments of Soviet embassies abroad have extremely limited hard currency resources which are earmarked only for assistance to our citizens who find themselves in extreme situations.

In my opinion, such trips by our cooperative workers, frequently without a specific purpose, in the course of which no contracts are signed and the voyagers themselves live at the expense of foreign firms, are not only useless, but they also cause definite political damage, discrediting the very idea of cooperatives. I am not even talking about any psychological pressure that our consular workers, who are in contact with the aforementioned citizens, are subjected to abroad. They are threatened with complaints to the press, with an appeal to the Supreme Soviet, etc.

[Sigov] Do any kind of legal norms exist abroad that regulate similar trips of foreign citizens?

[Khalevinskiy] All civilized states of the world have clear-cut legal norms that prevent the appearance of such "rolling stones." For example, a Belgian citizen cannot invite a foreigner as a guest, if he does not prove that his annual income enables him to support the visit of the person invited. Any foreign guest who arrives in Belgium without some kind of specific purposes is also obliged to show local consular offices a return ticket. In Denmark, airlines are even fined if they deliver persons without actual entry visas. In this connection, mention can also be made of the negative international reaction that was caused by the English bill of 1987, which deprived British male citizens of the right to bring their wives and children to England if they could not show beforehand that they were able to provide them with lodging and a subsistence minimum.

[Sigov] Is there any kind of international practice which provides material support for citizens who find themselves abroad, for example, without the means of subsistence?

[Khalevinskiy] There is such a practice. For example, in the consular services of the CSSR. If a Czechoslovak citizen finds himself in such a situation, for example, in Belgium, he informs the CSSR embassy. It, through the MFA, contacts his relatives or friends in the CSSR who give a promissory note for payment of a sum of money. The money is transmitted through the bank to the CSSR MFA. In the event that the received sum is not returned, the matter is taken to court. In such cases, the American embassy also goes to relatives and friends of the persons in need and obtain the money from them. If this does not work out immediately, then they issue the money on credit, with a notation in the foreign passport. The U.S. citizen cannot travel abroad in the future until the debt is paid.

[Sigov] It is no secret that many Soviet tourists are compelled to use these trips in order "to provide themselves with goods" more reliably. One can understand them, because the shelves in our stores are empty.

[Khalevinskiy] The situation really becomes very complicated. Let us take Czechoslovakia. Now, organized tourism and trips on private business from the USSR to the CSSR have increased from 27,000 persons in January to 100,000 persons in September of this year. In addition, many Soviet citizens came here for profiteering and illegal deals.

In 10 months of 1989, commodities valued at a million crowns, transported without payment of duties, were confiscated from Soviet citizens. They also take considerable sums in rubles abroad, and they "unload" them on foreigners. There are frequent cases of nonpayment of hotel accommodations, refusals to pay fines for travel without tickets, and other violations. There are hundreds of false customs declarations in the hands of our citizens who go abroad, i.e., blank forms impressed with a forged stamp.

Unfortunately, today Soviet citizens are regular figures in the flea markets of a number of foreign countries—the CSSR, PPR [Polish People's Republic], SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], India, and certain others. In addition, our officials note what appears at first glance to be a strange phenomenon: A system of preferential border contacts, for example, in the Ukraine, is used aggressively, along with residents of the Transcarpathian Oblast, by residents... of Armenia. Many citizens who live in Azerbaijan and Georgia and who are going abroad on private business are arrested by local authorities in the Ukraine. In many cases our compatriots arrive in the CSSR, PPR, SFRY, and India on fictitious invitations. After buying a form with the name of the person inviting them, they arrive in the CSSR, and there they do not know where the Czechoslovak "friend" actually lives. But, on the whole, this does not interest them. Such "trips" usually end with a return of the "victim" with the help of our consul general.

[Sigov] Apparently, this is what caused the adoption by Czechoslovakia of new strict customs measures, including measures against Soviet tourists....

[Khalevinskiy] Probably that is so. Since 15 November of this year, the law on the exchange in CSSR banks of R30 brought in earlier and declared by Soviet tourists has been repealed. Simultaneously, the government of the CSSR annulled the 1- and 2-day group trips of Soviet tour groups to the end of this year and the first half of 1990. This edict also concerns trips between enterprises in the system of exchanges. The stated measures are applicable to a number of other countries, in addition to the USSR. Of course, it is annoying that not only profiteers will become victims as a result of the adopted measures, but organized tourists as well.

Reality Behind Fanfare at BAM Celebrations

PM0612144789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Dec 89 Morning Edition p2

[IZVESTIYA special correspondent B. Reznik report under the rubric "Event and Opinion": "More Fanfares on the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad?"]

[Text] Tynda—I had not seen this kind of thing for a long time: Thunderous marches, everyone rising to their feet in a standing ovation when the bigwigs appeared on the presidium, and, finally, all at public expense. This is how Tynda celebrated the opening of the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad for continuous operation last weekend.

The official TASS report and other newspaper articles somehow omitted to mention what is, in our our view, a very fundamental point: It is not actually the whole of the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad that has been commissioned for continuous operation. Facilities allowing the transportation of nine million tonnes of freight—just one-quarter of the estimated capacity of the main railroad—have been commissioned as part of the so-called package of complexes scheduled for completion. The Baykal-Amur Main Railroad construction workers still have a great deal of work to do.

I certainly am not saying all this to cast a cloud over the celebrations; I am solely concerned with the truth and total clarity. IZVESTIYA has already written about how there seem to be three histories of the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad project. There is the old one of selfless labor. The modern-day story of heroism. Another, also belonging to the present day: Of offices, directives, and bureaucrats. The first two certainly cannot be lumped together with the third. During the 15 years of building the railroad, often on site, we IZVESTIYA correspondents witnessed the truly heroic labor of the construction workers and the no less heroic way in which they overcame the nightmare existence created by the Administrative System (in many places right up to the present day, incidentally!). At the will of the apologists of this system, the construction of the railroad was begun in haste, without a technical project, which only appeared three years later—and even then not for the entire line, but only individual sections of it; at their will and depite warnings from scientists, they rushed ahead and then got held up in the tectonic fractures of the Severomuysk mountain range. How many collapsed stations, station buildings, and dwellings we encountered along the entire length of the line during IZVESTIYA's last expedition to the railroad! Alas, no one is responsible: Everything is blamed on the permafrost and the extreme conditions.

No mention was made from the rostrum of the ceremonial meeting of the vast construction project's pains and problems. Perhaps the celebration was not really the time and place for this? But everyone sitting in the hall must have felt heavy at heart. If that were the case, people could have been more modest—should have been more modest—in their choice of words and epithets. "The tuning fork of the future," "the railroad of the new dawn"—this is from the report by Ye. Basin, USSR deputy minister of transport construction and chief of the "BAMtransstroy" PPSO [expansion unknown]. But all the records for self-praise were broken by N. Sukhanov, chief architect of the railroad and deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] State Committee for Construction Affairs [Gosstroy], who announced that the unique, glorious face of the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad settlements has now been fashioned, that they will go down in the annals of modern architecture for all eternity, and, after a slight hesitation, added that they have no parallel anywhere in the world! Meanwhile, various huts, shacks, and lean-tos were perfectly visible from the windows of the Tynda "Vilyuy" movie theater where the meeting was being held....

On this occasion, the railroad celebrations were attended by very few representatives of the press—just a handful of correspondents from the local newspapers. We must admit that we had planned to use the celebration as an excuse to gather our old friends around an IZVESTIYA "roundtable" and have an in-depth conversation with them about life, everyday affairs, and the future. We came up with this idea five years ago, when operational traffic began along the entire length of the line. We spent a quiet evening with the heroes of many of our reports—Aleksandr Bondar, Ivan Varshavskiy, Leonid Kazak, all of whom had been made Heroes of Socialist Labor—and talked not so much about the past as about the future. How would the Baykal-Amur Main Railroad work in practice? How would the rich area around it be developed? What lay ahead for the leading interethnic collectives and, indeed, for all the labor collectives involved in the project: Would they simply disband or would they remain here forever to open up the eastern reaches? But the "roundtable" did not take place. The leaders of "BAMtransstroy" found reasons to explain the absence of people of interest to the newspaper and instead proposed their own press conference.

The meeting did not take place, but the idea remains. An IZVESTIYA expedition will once again travel the entire length of the railroad in January. We would like the railroad construction workers themselves to point us in the right direction with regard to experience and problems, as they have done in the past.

... The guests flew out of Tynda airport on Sunday in aircraft paid for by "BAMtransstroy." It so happened that I was the only passenger on board the YAK-40 bound for Blagoveshchensk. Although it was a special flight, I insisted that I be sold an ordinary ticket so as not to be indebted to "BAMtransstroy." A flight mechanic came out of the pilot's cabin into the empty aircraft and, smiling, asked: Have you just come from the wedding? I knew that for many years people living in the railroad construction area have referred to the pompous meetings and banquets in this way. It left a bitter taste in the mouth....

Pipeline Blasts Blamed on Flaws,'Penny-Pinching'

PM0712164189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Dec 89 First Edition p 1

["Today's Letter" by Petroleum Engineer A. Petryayev and Engineer I. Bulatov: "Banking on the Wind"]

[Text] Kazan—Everyone remembers the tragic catastrophe in Bashkiria. There was a recent gas pipeline explosion near Norilsk. They were both caused by gas leaks. Could these disasters have been avoided? Yes! They could have been avoided, had there not been "penny-pinching" savings in the petroleum and gas industry like the abolition of the gas inspectors service.

Their duties included the constant inspection of the technical condition of pipelines. Both scheduled and ad hoc inspections following rain, storms, timber felling, and hard frost. Inspectors filed daily pipeline status reports. They themselves repaired minor faults in the course of their inspections. Whenever an inspector discovered any damage, he would turn off the pipeline valves and call out the emergency service. Conscientious work by the inspectors guaranteed the safety of pipeline operations. An inspector would have inevitably prevented a catastrophe like the one at Ufa!

Alas, the gas inspectors service was hastily abolished. Supervision was assigned to costly helicopter aviation and automatic instruments. It all appeared smooth on paper, but in reality the technical supervision of pipelines' condition was reduced to zero. As a rule, helicopters cannot fly in bad weather, when gas pipeline monitoring is most important. Regular inspection of gas pipelines' condition from the air offers no guarantee at all. Automatic instruments often malfunction. Once the ground-based gas pipeline watchmen were abolished, the inspectors' houses were sold to dacha owners. At times they have no idea at all that they have settled in gas pipeline restricted zones and are, figuratively speaking, sitting on a powder keg.

The technical condition of the pipes in the main gas pipeline section running through Chuvashia (where six high-pressure "strands" have been laid 50 meters apart) is also inspected only by helicopter or automatic equipment. It can be said that proper supervision has been left to just drift. It is an amazing fact that the emergency valves existing between all these "strands" were all open last April, for example.

Gas pipelines are in a state of neglect. This is easily seen if you walk 15-20 km along the line, especially in winter. There are flaws in pipes and valves which appear after torrential rain and hard frost. It is impossible to detect gas leaks from a helicopter, and helicopters find it altogether impossible to land in gullies and forests.

PRAVDA (1 July 1989) published V. Orlov's article "Sign of Disaster" which spoke of criminal proceedings in the case of shoddy construction work on the West Siberia-Urals-Volga Valley main product pipeline. In our view, substandard construction work is not the sole cause of pipeline accidents. There were miscalculations even during the planning of large-diameter pipelines using imported pipes. Their quality rating was groundlessly overstated. For example, the fatal flaw on the product pipeline near Ufa leaked gas for several days and nights. The break occurred along a longitudinal seam, which clearly indicates production defects in the pipe.

When planning gas pipelines, especially when several parallel "strands" are involved, it is necessary to make provision for a pipe filled with inert gas along their entire length. Had the product pipeline near Ufa had such an inert gas among its "facilities," the catastrophe would probably have been avoided.

The present situation is such that gas pipeline personnel are at times not even aware of leaking gas, which, when there is no wind, builds up in low-lying regions, and they have no way of ventilating the gullies and eliminating the dangerous buildup of methane. They sit and wait for the wind!

Agricultural

Belorussian Peasants' Union Established

PM1212143589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Dec 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent N. Matukovskiy report: "Farmers' Union. Notes from the Constituent Conference in Minsk"]

[Text] The debates had already lasted 4 hours, emotions at times went over the top, and yet there was no clarity as regards a decision on the main question—would the constituent conference delegates create a farmers' union or would they go home empty-handed. No, the overwhelming majority of those assembled unanimously expressed their belief: Such a union is necessary. But representatives of the Agroindustrial Committee [agroprom], headed by Deputy Chairman I. Nikitchenko, were dead against its creation. They cited "irrefutable" arguments: Belorussia, they claimed, has neither family farmers nor would-be family farmers. Find them first, and then worry about uniting. And also... is this our way? Is this where we are beckoning the peasants?

Doubts are useful in principle, but they could prove pernicious when the doubters refuse to take the other side's arguments into consideration. Had it not been for "Moscow's hand," the constituent conference for the creation of a union of Belorussia's agricultural cooperatives, peasant farms, and lessees' organizations would obviously have ended with nothing. There was great inequality between the opposing forces—unorganized "private operators" on the one hand, a powerful state organization known as the Agroprom on the other hand.

The scales were tipped in favor of the peasants' union only after the conference speech by Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Bashmachnikov, consultant with the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department, who represented the organizational committee set up in Moscow to prepare a constituent congress of the association of peasants' farms and agricultural cooperatives. Of course, lessee family farmers and cooperative members will not be able to feed the whole country right away, he said. But let's be honest: Collective farms [kolkhoz] and state farms [sovkhoz] have also failed to solve this problem despite state subsidies running into billions. Therefore, the question cannot be presented as just a choice between kolkhozes and lessee family farmers. In the crisis situation which our agriculture is now experiencing, we simply have no right to stubbornly overlook and deliberately disregard "niches" with a mighty potential which has still not been fully explored....

The following fact, for example, testifies to the likely development of the virtually untapped potential of peasants' farms. Out of the total produced last year, personal subsidiary farms, accounting for only 5.3% of usable land, produced (according to agroprom data) 21.7% of meat, 24.2% of milk, 44.9% of potatoes, 44.1% of vegetables, and 89.4% of fruit and berries. And this was done on "unorganized" farms.

The question is: Should we scorn this "source of victuals" (which, incidentally, can be relatively easily augmented) in favor of dubious deliberations about this being "not our way?" Think of how much we have lost because, for decades on end, with one eye blindfolded and the other blinded by gigantomania, we failed to notice the colossal opportunities we were missing.

There are already almost 200 cooperative members, lessees, and family farmers working in the republic. Despite strong opposition, about 7,000 persons would like to acquire individual farms. These estimates are, of course, incomplete. But these figures were acquired in a highly authoritative manner—on the basis of a poll conducted by the youth newspapers ZNAMYA YUNOSTI and CHERVONAYA ZMENA jointly with the Belorussian Scientific Research Institute for Economic Problems of the Republican Agroprom.

The resultant data was surprising in many respects. ZNAMYA YUNOSTI and CHERVONAYA ZMENA are read mainly by young people who have supposedly altogether lost their peasant genes and who, according to agroprom officials' claims, "cannot be driven into one-man operations by anyone or anything." Here is the result: 44% of those who would be willing to run an individual farm along family farm lines right away are aged between 21 and 30, with a further 23% aged between 30 and 40 years. The best possible age for running an autonomous business.

The poll was conducted shortly before the constituent conference which, in essence, discussed not so much the possibility of creating a peasants' union in Belorussia, but rather whether there should be an altogether new form of economic management—family farm cooperatives.

By way of supplementing the aforementioned average statistical data about the existence of potential family farmers, M. Zalesskiy, associate of the Economic Problems Institutes, described the results of a poll he had conducted in... Minsk, at the hostel of the "Integral" Production Association. On the face of it, it would seem useless to seek future farmers among people who have only just left the countryside. But 50% of the guys polled declared that they would return to the countryside if they were allowed to run an individual or a family farm. Our knowledge of our own people is so amazingly small!

...I listened to speeches by conference delegates V. Petochenko, from Gomel Oblast; V. Krasovskiy, A. Golub, and V. Kudyakin from Minsk Oblast; A. Timoshchenko from Mogilev Oblast; F. Litvin from Grodno Oblast; and A. Zharko from Brest Oblast, and I was amazed by the accuracy and unanimity with which they "classified" the obstacles which stand like an iron barrier in the way of cooperative members and family farmers.

The first group of obstacles which those wishing to become family farmers or cooperative members must tackle on their own is the stubborn unwillingness of farm leaders to recognize, let alone to support, this "alien" form of economic management. They are unwilling to allocate land, and when they do allocate it they spoil things by charging the earth for it or giving their consent subject to crushing and often simply impossible conditions. That is not all.... Some leaders cannot even stomach the words "family farmer" and there have been cases when they have mocked peasants: "Maybe now you would like us to call you sir...?"

What is the prime cause of this almost universal rejection of the new forms of economic management? After all, kolkhoz chairmen can in no way be described as politically or economically ignorant and surely, being peasants themselves, they cannot fail to see the truly attractive aspects of family farming. It is logical to assume that they are resisting because they actually do perceive these "attractive aspects." It was said at the conference that in a year or two lessees start producing twice as much output per hectare at prime costs which are two-thirds or one-half those on kolkhozes or sovkhozes. This is what leaders find irritating, especially on farms which operate on subsidies (and the republic has more than 200 such farms).

It was no accident that all delegates told the conference in a single voice, as it were: We want to do business only with soviets—lease the land from them and make payments to them because arbitrary rule is intolerable. Some kolkhoz chairmen, without the slightest pang of conscience, strive to use excessive lease charges to make up for their own economic mismanagement.

The conference delegates were unanimous in identifying the vagueness of the state's position toward so-called family farmers as obstacle "number two." Legislatively speaking, leasing would appear legalized now, but people still have fresh in their minds the memory of the not so distant past when we took care of the "kulaks" most of whom were in essence... family farmers. The same ones whom we are trying to bring back into being today. Where is the guarantee, lessees asked at the conference, that we will not be dubbed kulaks again tomorrow.

A serious problem. It is impossible, delegates said, to remain indifferent observers while an atmosphere of ill will is being created around lessees. Why is it, for example, that they are seen as nothing but "thieves," "grabbers," and "keen on easy money?" Everyone is jealous of their high earnings, but people forget, first, the backbreaking work that has to be done to earn it and, second, the fact that the real value of R350 received by, say, a kolkhoz machine operator is even greater than that of R600 earned by a lessee. This is because the R350 represents "clear money," while the lessee's R600 "covers" both wages and the production development fund. A lessee has to use this money to acquire equipment, to buy feed, to build a shed.... It is, after all, no accident that very few people today are running the risk of chasing this externally attractive "easy money." But the jealousy, this accursed jealousy engendered by our poverty, nips in the bud even people's initiative as peasants and farmers.

No, the conference delegates nurtured no illusions about their future. Reflecting on the difficulties, they emphasized that a family farmer or lessee must combine the experience and knowledge of an agronomist, animal technician, engineer, and construction worker. Serious training is needed. To start with—maybe some highly professional consultations for large audiences with specialists from various spheres. Lessees are prepared to pay any price for this right now.

After the conference, I came across "Moscow's hand"—V. Bashmachnikov. I reminded him: Some agroprom officials voiced fears that the union could evolve into some sort of an alternative peasants' party.

"Rubbish!", Vladimir Fedorovich said. "The union has so many of its own purely vocational problems associated with land, economics, and business organization that it will have no time to dabble in politics. But as for the politicization of the masses in general.... This testifies to just one thing: The feeling of being genuine masters of their own country is now awakening among our people. Should we be afraid of this?"

So, let us wish the Belorussian Peasants' Union the traditional "Good Luck!" And let us bear in mind that its future will depend on support by party, state, and economic organs or, to put it briefly, on all, including each and every one of us.

Scientific

Chernobyl Fuel Deemed 'Profoundly Subcritical'

PM1212172589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
8 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[Report by Academician S. Belyayev, Doctor of Physical Mathematical Sciences A. Borovoy, and Doctor of Physical Mathematical Sciences A. Gagarinskiy under the rubric "Science in the Modern World": "What Are People Doing in the 'Sarcophagus'?"]

[Text] Since the beginning of May 1986 up to the present day dozens of staffers from scientific institutes in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, and other cities have been sent to Chernobyl every month to take part in the work of eliminating the consequences of the accident. Many of them work as part of the integrated expedition sent by the I.V. Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute, which was officially registered at the end of 1987 (it was previously described as an operations group).

The expedition was set up to accomplish many tasks, of them the most crucial and important being to ensure the controllability and safe condition of the nuclear fuel within the "sarcophagus" or, as technical literature usually describes it, within the "encasement" [ukrytiye] around the fourth power unit at the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station."

What is inside this vast gloomy structure that is as high as a 20-story apartment block? The ruins of the reactor, several hundred destroyed, semi-destroyed, and virtually intact compartments [pomeshcheniya], into some of which "fresh" concrete used in the construction of the "encasement" has found its way. According to estimates, there are still 185 tonnes of nuclear fuel remaining there (or 96% of the quantity prior to the accident), every gram of which is still emitting billions of radioactive particles per second.

Since there are differing opinions—including speculative and simply unscrupulous opinions—of the quantity of fuel ejected into the outside environment during the explosion, we would like to clarify this question once again. It came up on the agenda straight after the explosion at the fourth power unit.

Work began in two areas. First, an endeavor was made to obtain data as to how much radioactivity was being discharged from the damaged reactor and in what form. It was extremely difficult to obtain full and accurate data here. Huge radiation fields hampered surveys above and in direct proximity to the wreckage. It proved possible only with great difficulty to take the requisite samples and determine the parameters of the airstream transporting the radioactive aerosols away from the reactor.

The second way involved determining how much radioactivity had already settled onto the soil.

The first estimates of the discharge that had occurred over the radiation sampling areas were made at the Atomic Energy Institute on the night of 15 May; the result was obtained by morning—3-4% of the original charge of fuel had been discharged from the devastated power unit. By mid-July 1986 Ministry of Medium Machine Building, State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control, and Defense Ministry institutes had concluded as the result of independent calculations that 2-6%, that is 4-12 tonnes, of fuel had been discharged.

The information regarding the amount of discharge was first brought to the attention of the world community in a report prepared by the State Committee for the Utilization of Atomic Energy and delivered by Academician V.A. Legasov in Vienna in August 1986.

The report's main conclusions are as follows:

- Inert radioactive gases were practically entirely discharged from the reactor and a considerable quantity of iodine was discharged;
- 13% of the cesium was discharged (with an error factor of of plus or minus 7%);
- some 3% (plus or minus 1.5%) of the nuclear fuel containing nonvolatile fission products and transuranic elements was discharged.

In the period August-November 1986, after diagnostic apparatus had been successfully lowered into the reactor shaft, first by helicopter and then with a crane, a heat measurement program was carried out on the surface of the wreckage and around the edge of the devastated reactor. By making a comparison of the heat being released against calculations, it proved possible to establish that at least 90% of the fuel was in the "encasement" (it only proved possible to give a minimum figure for this evaluation). In the last few years the estimate of the fallout has been elaborated. Thus, in 1988 the fuel discharged during the accident was calculated using a data bank set up at the Atomic Energy Institute containing full reports on tens of thousands of soil samples taken on USSR territory and foreign research data. The following value was obtained: 3.5 plus or minus 0.5%.

But let us return to the "encasement." What was known about the distribution and form of the main mass of the fuel in the compartments of the "encasement?"

The information obtained by truly heroic efforts in 1986 was rather general all the same: The main masses of fuel (ejected during the explosion) were at the top—in the central reactor room, under the stepped wall [kaskadnaya stena] that was erected; in the spent fuel pond, in the reactor shaft itself (what remained of the reactor core), and lastly in the lower locations beneath the reactor shaft (it found its way there as a result of the accident). Five or six areas in all.

It was also well known that there are three forms of fuel-bearing mass inside the "encasement" First, fragments of the core: Whole assemblies and individual fuel elements, splinters of them, and so on. Second, finely-divided fuel in the form of highly active dust with particles ranging in size from fractions of a micron to tens of microns. This dust, which formed during the explosion, ended up virtually in every compartment of the "encasement." It entered the walls, floors, and ceilings. It was in the air in the form of aerosols. The slightest breath of air made clouds of it surge up into the air and then very slowly (possibly because it was charged) settle. When it found its way into respiratory tracts, the dust caused an agonizing cough. Virtually all those involved in the work of eliminating the consequences of the accident in 1986 when the dust was particularly active experienced coughing fits to a greater or lesser degree, sometimes of similar severity to asthma attacks. It was the dust rather than the external radiation that was the main enemy to research as and when the crucial incursion began—that is in May 1988—into the devastated reactor. But the new processes and methods used to combat it ought to be recounted in another article.

No one expected to encounter the third form of fuel-bearing materials. It was first discovered in one of the galleries under the reactor. It consisted of black lava in the form of a gigantic (several cubic meters) solidified droplet split at its lower end, and hence dubbed the "elephant's foot." The radiation level near it was approximately 8,000 roentgens per hour in 1986. Even five minutes spent near the "foot" would have killed a man. Thus, it was only possible to operate at long range. The first attempts to detach lumps of the "elephant's foot" for examination proved unsuccessful. Displaying surprising hardness, the substance failed to yield to a drill mounted on a special remote-control truck. Physicists then proposed employing small arms.

A skilled marksman—a militia captain—was put at our disposal. He went down to the "elephant's foot" by the physicists' customary route and, without losing his composure, fired armor-piercing bullets into it, one after the other. Analysis of the fragments obtained in this way showed that they consisted of 70-90% silicon dioxide (fused sand), 2-10% fuel particles, and, in addition, contained graphite (hence the black color), metal alloys, and so on.

Did the fuel left in the "encasement" present any danger? It was primarily a question of nuclear danger—the fact that a spontaneous nuclear chain reaction can develop when there is a large concentration of such fuel. The following question arose straight after the accident—is a chain reaction going on in the devastated power unit? There was unequivocal proof that it was not.

The 6-month experience acquired during the construction of the "encasement" also indicated that there was no spontaneous nuclear chain reaction. Radioactive radiation was observed, temperatures were monitored, and analyses were made for the presence of short-lived radioactive gases, which occur during a nuclear chain reaction. It must be said that alarm flared up from time to time, spreading rapidly through rumors far beyond the 30 km zone. Suddenly neutrons or radioactive iodine—a sure concomitant of a chain reaction—"were discovered." Specialists rapidly found mistakes in measurements and discovered equipment failures and quashed the false "signals."

Despite the fact that the power unit compartments and, consequently, the fuel therein were subjected to active external influences—by vibration when various materials were being dropped from helicopters onto the reactor wreckage and the intrusion of concrete and water during the construction of the "encasement"—there were no dangerous developments in the behavior of the fuel. It was in subcritical state.

Thus, two possible paths emerged. One was to leave everything as it was, seal the "doors" of the "encasement," and continue to keep an eye on its status on the basis of readings from dozens of temperature and gamma-radiation sensors, neutron detectors, and a host of other equipment installed in those areas that were accessible to people by walking, running, or crawling. Mainly on the edge of the locations affected by the accident. To use medical terminology, that way involves only carrying out an external examination of the "sick" reactor, without resorting to surgical intervention. Many specialists favored this action program. Others had misgivings about this method. After all a building ravaged by the explosion and fires and containing 185 tonnes of decaying fuel was left in the "encasement." The fuel may change its geometry in three, five, or 10 years as a result of the uncontrollable collapse of the constructional structures and the danger of a spontaneous nuclear chain reaction may increase. Although the likelihood of such process is small, with our knowledge in 1987 it was impossible to say that it was strictly zero. This inevitably compelled us to choose another way—direct penetration to the accumulated fuel to actively monitor it.

The distance between adopting this decision in principle and technically implementing it was extremely long and difficult. Although the government commission hurried physicists along, it was only in fall 1987 that the research collective's strategic plan for penetrating within the damaged reactor was ready.

The first major successes were achieved in mid-1988 when special holes were bored from decontaminated compartments on the west side of the "encasement" through concrete walls many meters thick, through the sand fill, and through steel structures into the reactor shaft. The boreholes emerged virtually simultaneously in compartments under the reactor at lower elevations.

Using special periscopes and television equipment researchers could now look inside the reactor. Measuring apparatus was introduced into the reactor on rods approximately 20-meters long. Precautions were taken, particularly against radioactive dust filtering into working premises via the boreholes.

After a tremendous amount of work, it proved possible by late-1988 to, as it were, expose the internal sections of the reactor and reveal the following picture. There was great devastation within the reactor. Its upper "cover" [kryshka] weighing more than 2,000 tonnes and situated above the core zone had moved so as to be standing vertically on end, having torn hundreds of pipes out of the system. Under the force of the explosion the lower "cover" crushed a massive metal cross supporting it and dropped four meters below its normal position. There was no core in the usual sense of the word (a well ordered arrangemnent of graphite and uranium). Fragments of it encased in concrete lay chaotically on the lower "cover" of the reactor in a layer up to five meters thick. A considerable quantity of the fuel is under this "cover" in a compartment that is flooded with concrete. The lower the boreholes went, the more frequently the researchers encountered the "lava." Forming under the influence of the high temperatures during the accident, it flowed into the compartments under the reactor, along galleries, and pipes and traveled dozens of meters from the core, forming tongues and "elephant's feet" (four of them have now been discovered). The lowest point where a "tongue" of fuel has been found is the first level of the so-called bubbler pond. A few meters separate it from the meltdown "trap"—a concrete slab with a heat exchanger—especially constructed under the power unit's foundations. Researchers also encountered a feature of the accident which was forecast in May 1986—the disintegration and degradation of concrete on coming into contact with the hot fuel. The floor of the compartment under the reactor (a concrete slab 1.8 meters thick), which took the brunt of the heat shock and protected the ceiling of the lower compartments from it, was partially destroyed.

What about the nuclear danger?

Labor-intensive experimental studies and a large amount of theoretical calculations were needed to answer this question. Most varied methods—including active and passive ones, and using steady and pulsed neutron sources—were used to determine the subcriticality of the accumulations of fuel that had been discovered. In the latter case researchers acted like geological prospectors—"they bombarded" the remaining fuel with rapid neutron pulses using generators introduced into the boreholes. The response from that medium provided reliable information about its properties and—and, what is most important—about its subcriticality.

In March 1989, 18 months after the work began, the government commission reported that the fuel in the "encasement" was in a profoundly subcritical state. Potential collapse of structures within the "encasement" will not bring about a spontaneous chain reaction.

However, studies are continuing. They are necessary not only to amplify the picture of the accident, but also to solve the question of the future of the "encasement."

Funding, Coordination of Polar Research Criticized

PM1312165589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Dec 89 Second Edition p 6

["Topical Interview" with B. Krutskikh, director of the Arctic and Antarctic Scientific Research Institute, by special correspondent V. Chertkov, datelined Antarctica-Moscow: "The Planet's 'Refrigerator'"—no place or date of interview specified; first two paragraphs are a reader's letter; third and fourth paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] "It would be interesting to find out what the USSR research bases on the Sixth Continent have yielded, and how the Antarctic Treaty operates?"

Kh. Keldiyev, Ordzhonikidze City.

The Antarctic Treaty came into force in December 1959. The 15th consultative conference of treaty states, held in Paris on the eve of that event's 30th anniversary, examined a broad range of problems: The elaboration of an all-embracing package of measures to protect Antarctica's natural environment; the development of international scientific cooperation; and the creation of integrated services to provide hydrometeorological backup for navigation in the southern ocean and flight safety in the Antarctic.

PRAVDA's correspondent conversed with B. Krutskikh, director of the Arctic and Antarctic Scientific Research Institute, who took part in the conference.

[Chertkov] The Antarctic Treaty was signed 30 years ago by 12 states. How many countries have joined it since then?

[Krutskikh] Paris received delegations from 25 states—Australia, Britain, Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, the GDR, India, Spain, Italy, the PRC, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Poland, the United States, the USSR, Uruguay, Finland, France, the FRG, Chile, Sweden, the Republic of South Africa, South Korea, and Japan—and observers from 13 countries which have joined the treaty.

[Chertkov] Mankind's interest in the Sixth Continent is not flagging: Rather the opposite. How do you explain this?

[Krutskikh] It is, after all, a unique nature laboratory, a region with enormous biological, mineral, and water resources. Over the last three decades, joint efforts by the International Antarctic Community have made it possible to reveal the basic laws governing the nature of the southern polar region and to realize the role played by Antarctica and the southern ocean in global physical, chemical, and biological processes. The Antarctic region, with its extremely low thermal balance, plays the role of the earth's largest "refrigeration machine," and any changes there have an immediate effect on the atmosphere and the world ocean. Drilling results have shown that the continent's ice cap and the southern ocean sediments provide a kind of archive of natural information covering a period of several hundred thousand years (climatic developments, chemical composition of the atmosphere, and fallout from space).

[Chertkov] Are climatic changes better observed in the polar regions?

[Krutskikh] Being, for example, furthest away from industrial centers, Antarctica offers unique conditions for studyingy the condition of the atmosphere's ozone layer. It is vitally important to know the correlation between natural and man-made factors in the so-called "ozone hole" which developed above Antarctica during the eighties. Furthermore, scientists constantly bear in mind that the Antarctic ice sheet contains a quantity of water which could raise the world ocean's level by 60 meters. Even small manifestations of the greenhouse effect have a tangible influence on the ocean level: It is well known that it has been steadily rising over the last few centuries.

[Chertkov] Obviously, any work in Antarctica should be perceived as planetary.

[Krutskikh] The participants in the 15th consultative conference adopted a series of recommendations envisaging stepped-up work to constantly monitor factors affecting the Antarctic environment. The question of evaluating and forecasting and the condition of Antarctica's environment are crucial. There was support for an initiative to set up a comprehensive data bank.

[Chertkov] What is our contribution to this important work?

[Krutskikh] A sum of about R10 million is appropriated annually by the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology to support the activity of Soviet Antarctic expeditions. Other ministries and departments spend something in the region of R9 million on fundamental and applied research, whose coordination is assigned to the Interdepartmental Commission for Antarctic Exploration under the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and the State Committee for Science and Technology. When appraising the effectiveness of these investments, it is necessary to note the obviously limited opportunities of the Interdepartmental Commission for Antarctic Exploration and the State Committee for Science and Technology to coordinate USSR Antarctic exploration. This is a natural consequence of the departmental nature of the funding of this research. Our country's lack of a unified government organ to determine policy and activity in the southern polar region is increasingly tangible and diminishes the USSR's prestige within the Antarctic Treaty system. The United States, Britain, France, and Australia have state organs under the governments to regulate the funding of work in Antarctica. In the United States, the budget of the National Science Foundation's Antarctica Department is discussed by Congress, and this year it amounted to $262 million. In addition to this, the U.S. government allocated $30 million for environmental protection activity in the Antarctic regions where U.S. scientists are working.

The question of elaborating an updated concept of Soviet exploration in Antarctica is now on the agenda. One of its components must be the USSR's expanded participation in exploring the Sixth Continent. This will make it possible to make the maximum, most productive use of the existing material and intellectual resources. We have to reorganize the network of Soviet scientific stations on the basis of concentrating material and technical supplies in three or four major bases and developing a network of automatic stations. At the same time, it is necessary to develop a fundamentally new communications system including a mobile aviation support plan and a satellite communications system.

[Chertkov] How many persons do we have in Antarctica during the seasonal work period?

[Krutskikh] Around 1,000 scientists and specialists. The U.S. summer expedition has more than 2,500 persons.

Military

Deputy Defense Minister Arkhipov Visits Troops

PM1312110789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Dec 89 Second Edition p 4

[Colonel P. Altunin report: "Over a Cup of Tea"]

[Text] I will not try to pretend or seek to convince you that this meeting was accidental. Army General V.M. Arkhipov, USSR deputy defense minister and chief of the Armed Forces Rear Services, had given notification that he would come and visit the motor transport battalion in order to see for himself how servicemen's daily life is organized. When this was discussed, battalion commander Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Usanov put forward a kind of "counterplan," suggesting that the discussion with officers and men be held in a tearoom in the center of the settlement. The invitation was accepted.

However, a sharp and frank debate had already opened up on the way to the tearoom, in the technical zone. Lathe operator Private O. Vrublevskiy had been machining a component, but for some reason he was not wearing protective glasses. It turned out that he had them, but had somehow gotten used to working without them. What kind of order is this? The quality of the furniture in the barracks and the bedding left much to be desired. Steps would have to be taken right away.

In the servicemen's mess the conversation turned to the pros and cons of self-service. Incidentally, a choice of two dishes has been organized in the battalion. If only the cooking were a little better....

There was a barrage of questions about servicemen's allowance rates. Army General V.M. Arkhipov described how servicemen's rations are to be improved in terms of the range of products, to include milk, fruit, and vegetables. Incidentally, thanks to its subsidiary farm the battalion has been fully self-sufficient in meat for the past 15 years.

Now to the tearoom. Gleaming samovars on the tables, fresh pies, confectionery, and fruit. A long conversation took place about perestroyka, cuts in the army, the new regulations, servicemen's leave, and military uniform. Sergeant A. Sorokin, Senior Lieutenant V. Kovalenko, Private L. Velkin, Major A. Izotov, Senior Warrant Officer V. Andreyev, and Major V. Karpachev, a recent Afghanistan veteran, took part on an equal footing, without mincing words, in the unconstrained conversation which sometimes turned into an argument.

Deputy Defense Minister on Officers' Assemblies

PM1312171789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Dec 89 First Edition pp 2, 3

[Special correspondent Colonel G. Miranovich, Lieutenant Colonel O. Vladykin, Lieutenant Colonel I. Yesyutin, Captain 3d Rank Yu. Gladkevich, and Major S. Kusher undated reportage from the Moscow All-Service Officers' Assembly: "The Times Call for New Approaches"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Taking the floor, Army General D. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense minister for personnel, recalled that a proposal to define the status of the All-Service Officers' Assembly had been submitted at the opening of the assembly. Since a temporary provision on defining the status of the All-Service Officers' Assembly had been elaborated by the USSR Ministry of Defense Main Personnel Directorate and the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, he deemed it necessary to express his opinion on this question.

The temporary provision on the Officers' Assembly was put into effect by the USSR defense minister's order of 20 May 1989, Army General D. Sukhorukov said. The intention was to accumulate experience from the work of officers' assemblies prior to 1 October 1991, and, taking account of all submitted proposals, introduce the necessary amendments in the elaboration of a permanent provision. Officers' assemblies are being set up in military units, institutions, military training establishments, and garrisons for the purpose of instilling a sense of officer honor and merit in officers, establishing comradely communications, rallying officer collectives, and protecting officers against arbitrary treatment, rudeness, and social injustice in resolving questions in the course of duty.

The bulk of officers are serving in military units and garrisons and therefore it is there that officers' assemblies must operate and be consolidated and an integrated, united collective must be created. The current All-Service Officers' Assembly has been convened on the decision of the minister of defense in order to exchange opinions on the first steps taken in the work of officers' assemblies, to hear out various categories of officers, and to give a new boost to the work of these assemblies. This is the first event of its kind. The inclusion on the agenda of the question of examining the status of the All-Army Officers' Assembly and deciding at what intervals it should be convened could be recorded in the defense minister and Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate chief's directive on the results of our Officers' Assembly's work, stating that representative officers' assemblies can be held in combined units and formations, Armed Forces services and troop categories, and also on the scale of the Armed Forces as a whole. Representative officers' assemblies are convened at the request of at least one-third of the total number of officers' assemblies of military units and combined units and formations, or on the decision of the relevant command, or, in the case of the Armed Forces as a whole, by decision of the minister of defense. The same applies to defining the levels of representation and the intervals at which officers' assemblies are held.

Now about the finalization of the temporary Provision on Officers' Assemblies. The order states that it (the provision) should be finalized by 1 October 1991. However, taking account of our assembly and the opinions expressed here, it might be possible with the defense minister's agreement to publish the permanent Provision on Officers' Assemblies in 1990.

As to the chairman of an officers' assembly, we drew on the experience and traditions of past officers' assemblies. We studied their history going back to Peter the Great. The chairman of an officers' assembly in the past was always the commander of the regiment or military unit. There was also an officers' assembly council or cochairman. This served to emphasize respect for the one-man commander and his authority. He was the organizer of the officers' assembly's work, as it were adopting final decisions on the assembly's recommendations. It would be possible to agree that in present conditions any one from among the unit's most worthy officers could be elected chairman of the officers' assembly, although this question needs to be thoroughly considered.

Membership in the officers' assembly is voluntary.

The question has been raised of an Officer's Code of Honor. A draft already exists. Elaboration of a provision on the discharge of duty by officer personnel has also been completed. It will be examined at a session of the USSR Defense Ministry Collegium in the near future, and sent out to the troops for discussion. After your proposals have been received, it will be finalized and submitted to the government for approval. This provision envisages that on graduation from military schools, officers will adopt the Officer's Code of Honor. [Sukhorukov ends] [passage omitted]

Officer Cuts Cause Personnel Problems

90UM0104A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Nov 89 First Edition p 2

[Article by Colonel I. Varfolomeyev, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent: "'Doubles' for Positions"]

[Excerpts] **Dear Editor! The article "Area of Special Attention" (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 17 May 1989) stated: "Today the reduction of officer personnel is being accomplished mainly through those who have served the required periods and who have a right to a pension. People who are conscientious and perform their duties faultlessly are given the opportunity to serve out these periods." I was confident that I also would be given the opportunity to serve out a little more than 1 year to reach 25 years.... I was never put on report during my service and the department that I head in the October Rayon Military Commissariat in Krasnodar holds prize-winning places. However,**

on 29 June 1989, Lieutenant Colonel A. Sobol arrived here. He was assigned to my position by order of the Commander in Chief of the Ground Forces. An employee of the kray military commissariat stated: Not everything is quite right here....

I ask your assistance in granting me the opportunity to continue serving until December 1990. [Signed] Major V. Suntsov.

[Passage omitted] Even before arriving in Krasnodar, Major General A. Mitrofanov, deputy chief of the Directorate of Personnel of the Ground Forces, and Colonels N. Radul and G. Nikonov of the directorate, cited quite a few cases that compelled me to think that, unfortunately, at times circumstances in work with people turn out to be stronger than we are. The return of about 10,000 officers from Afghanistan coincides with the withdrawal of units—and large units—from the groups of forces. It also coincides with the initiated reductions of positions in units inside the country. As a result, there are many difficulties. The situation happens pretty often where an officer has not left his position when another is assigned in his place. On the day of our discussion, in the North Caucasus Military District alone, including the military commissariats, the Directorate of Personnel assigned 60 such "doubles." [Passage omitted]

I note: Suntsov is not the first and, most likely, will not be the last to write letters like this to us. Simultaneously, Senior Lieutenant A. Maltsev, from a PVO [Air Defense] SAM [surface-to-air missile] unit complained to us about his seemingly illegal discharge into the reserve. Before this there was a case when one reader, after an enthusiastic letter in support of the reduction in the Army, quickly sent a second letter: Why was he specifically being reduced? Indeed, despite the fact that on the whole the need for reductions is perceived with understanding in the Army and Navy, and that some officers themselves write reports about early discharge into the reserve, we often have occasion to hear this as well: Discharge whomever you like, but not me! It happens that one person complains that service is not extended after a certain age, another complains that it is not extended a second time, and the third complains that he is not permitted to serve out the year...

It is to the credit of many commanders, chiefs, and personnel workers that they try, even in difficult circumstances, not to mince words. In addition to the management of the kray military commissariat, the resolution of the Suntsov question in particular was joined in by the okrug command and the staff of the chief of the Personnel Directorate of the Ground Forces; and, as a result, an appropriate position was found for the officer. This, of course, is good. But, talking generally about those who reach the maximum age but who do not have full service, there are 14 such persons in kray military commissariats, and 262 in okrug military commissariats. Where can they be assigned, given the presence of numerous "doubles?"

In conversations with the officers themselves and their chiefs, it became apparent: Perceiving with great gratitude the well-known resolution of the government on a pension provision for servicemen who do not have full length of service and are discharged because of the reduction, they at the same time are puzzled about why these important benefits are not supplemented with such a small matter as the right to sanitarium-resort facility use and preferential housing payments? That is, the right that senior officers with 25 years length of service receive? My interlocutors said convincingly: Such supplemental benefits would entirely relieve the situation. The officers we are talking about would retire more readily and without resentment. Given full monetary payment and other allowances, there would no longer be a need to retain people on staffs, and to arrange assignments that do not correspond to their training profiles and service experience, and, as a consequence of all of this, to incur tremendous expenses.

It seems that the opinions of my interlocutors are logical and well-founded. On the other hand, in this sense we have to glance into the future. In connection with the fact that there are still a lot of officers in the Army and Navy whose age, so to speak, does not correspond to their length of service and who have a long way to go to retirement, there is a need to attract them more actively to the service in the area of privileges. This is advantageous to them. [Passage omitted]

If it can be expressed this way, the geographical boundary of the problem is apparent. It is understandable that the Black Sea area in the south and the Ukraine are much more attractive for service than, for example, Siberia or southern Central Asia. However, this does not mean that an overabundance or "stagnation" of officer personnel inevitably has to be created in the more favorable places. Nevertheless, both the one and the other are present. In the military commissariats of Krasnodarskiy Kray alone, there are more than 20 "doubles," and there are 26 officers who, so to speak, on a "voluntary basis" occupy positions that are lower than that authorized for their ranks. For comparison, we inquired about the situation in the military commissariats of the Volga-Ural Military District. We were informed: The situation with respect to the placement of personnel is entirely normal. But there are vacancies....